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THE HEALTH SERVICE

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on Hungary

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A Time to Speak Out

THE late John Foster Dulles cherished – at any rate for a time – the belief that the virtues of western democracy were so demonstrably superior to the closed Stalinist society that a few strident blasts on his trumpet would bring the Communist Jericho down. His faith might conceivably have been rewarded had the factual premise on which it rested been sound. Unfortunately, the western nations do not form the community of unsullied democratic virgins which the triumph of virtue predicates; indeed, the most strident anti-Communist harridans are usually those of least political repute. For every Norway and Holland, there is a Formosa or a Persia; every step towards integration in the Southern States is paralleled by a move towards *apartheid* in South Africa. For the great powers of the West have recruited their allies not for their adherence to the principles we preach but for their opposition to the principles we oppose.

This has been, and remains, the West's greatest single source of weakness. For it not only rules out the bloodless victory Mr Dulles once foresaw; it also hampers us in the prolonged ideological and economic battle we are now engaged in. Corrupt feudalism, bolstered up with spasmodic injections of foreign capital, is the perfect formula for economic inefficiency. When dictatorship takes over, more foreign aid will not not make it more stable or less oppressive. Without either an ideology committed to high and forced investment, or the critical mechanism of an unfettered opposition, an underdeveloped country cannot hope to pass the stage of 'take off' which Professor Rostow has defined as the indispensable preliminary to self-sustaining economic growth. Granted a measure of external aid, both the Chinese and the Indian systems can work. But in Turkey, by contrast, the suppression of liberty marches *pari passu* with the decline of productivity; the two trends are organically connected. And this pattern is repeated, with variations, through large areas of the non-Communist world.

South Korea provides an example of where the process must lead. This territory has probably received more *per capita* foreign aid than any other country in the world. Shorn of the raw materials in the north, its economic viability must always be fragile; but had the US made a resolute attempt to set up a constitutional state, with a responsible opposition, Korea would have stood an even chance of survival. In fact America surrendered the state to Syngman Rhee, on the sole basis of his anti-Communist credentials, and continued to sustain him long after the true nature of his regime was revealed. Hence corruption led to inefficiency; inefficiency to declining production and living-standards, and to rising unemployment; and these in turn provoked physical protests which led Rhee to abandon the democratic facade entirely and rely on naked police power.

At this point, fortunately, the Americans came to their senses. They realised that inaction on their part could permit civil war to develop, and confront them with the disastrous alternatives Russia faced in Hungary in 1956 – complete withdrawal, or armed intervention on behalf of a dictatorship. Seeing that further private warnings to Rhee would be useless, they broke with him publicly; and their intervention was decisive.

It is not only in the American sphere that the rejection of basic principles makes a mockery of the western case. South Africa, like Korea, is a tragic liability. So far official protests against *apartheid* have been muted or private and correspondingly ineffective. With the political situation there becoming fluid, it is just possible that, if the other Commonwealth governments jointly make their condemnation unequivocally clear. the balance will be tipped on the side of reason. The US has now decisively rejected racialism and in this could be associated with the Commonwealth. Threatened with global ostracism, the Afrikaaners might abandon principles which even they are being forced to question. It is worth trying, and next week's Commonwealth conference provides the opportunity.

Comments on the Week's News

A Threat from Southern Rhodesia

The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia is in London this week to persuade the British government that it should now surrender the rights of veto over his parliament's legislation which were retained when the colony became internally self-governing in 1923. He has chosen a bad moment. If there were genuinely democratic government in Southern Rhodesia, he might have gained a sympathetic ear in this country. As, however, there are no more than 2,500 Africans on his voters' roll – outnumbered 30 to one by European voters: the African population outnumbers the European by about 12 to one – the Southern Rhodesian system will appear to be more closely akin to South Africa than to democracy. Sir Edgar's visit seems to be designed to outbid his opposition, the Dominion Party, which holds 13 of the 30 parliamentary seats. It seems likely that he will shortly call for a general election in the hope that his party, the United Federal Party, will increase its narrow majority – and, incidentally, strengthen Sir Roy Welensky, with whom it is affiliated, in his defence of federal white domination at the constitutional review conference due at the end of the year. It is true that the British power of veto over legislation discriminating against the Africans has never been actively used. Nevertheless, in the present circumstances, the Africans of Southern Rhodesia value this shadowy protection; and their new nationalist party, the National Democratic Party, has sent a deputation to oppose the Prime Minister's pressure. It is unfortunate that the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Lord Home, has refused to meet it. The Africans fear that a deal may be made by the British government conceding the whites' demands in Southern Rhodesia in return for their toleration of African advance in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Such a bargain could only precipitate another South African situation in Southern Rhodesia.

Ghana at the Polls

There has never been an election in Ghana in which violence has not appeared. Both sides, the government Convention Peoples Party, and the opposition United Party, always blame their opponents for its provocation. This past weekend the scene was again Ashanti, where the Opposition is strongest and consequently where strife is nearest to the surface. Reports suggest that the presidential election and the referendum on the republican constitution have again been accompanied by intimidation and bullying. Whoever may be responsible – and almost certainly both sides use these tactics – the main concern for the government should be the apparent toleration of violence as a political weapon. Once this weapon is accepted as legitimate or inevitable, the whole political life of the country must become diseased. It was certain that Dr Nkrumah would be elected to the presidency by a large majority. He and his followers should be pleased that his opponent, Dr Danquah, has polled nearly one-fifth of the votes, because it shows that opposition is still permitted and is still alive. It is unfortunate, however, that rejection of the new constitution should seem to be identical with support for Danquah. Nkrumah can now show the strength of his belief in democracy by disciplining his followers into abjuring violence and educating them into recognition that it is good for the country to have different views and different political loyalties openly expressed.

Haxell's Manoeuvre

Mr Frank Haxell, the General Secretary of the ETU, has been quick to seize the opportunity presented to him by Mr Leslie Cannon's ill-timed threat of legal action against the ETU leaders. Mr Cannon, one of the leading critics inside the union of the communist cabal which runs it, makes a most convincing claim that he has suffered severe injury at the hands of the ETU leaders since he started to criticise them. He is fully entitled to sue – indeed he may in the end perform a public service if he does so. But the announcement of his intention at the very moment when the TUC had Messrs Haxell and Foulkes pinned down gave them a plausible excuse for further prevarication. Mr Cannon has since offered not to press his action if the ETU leaders accept stringent inquiry under the auspices of the TUC; but the damage is done, and Mr Haxell has found fresh ground for manoeuvre. The TUC rightly continues to insist that its original challenge must none the less be answered promptly, but it is clear that some members of the General Council, who have always doubted the desirability of probing the affairs of the ETU too closely, are now still more reluctant; and it may be that some others are confused by the unexpected twist of events. There need however be no confusion. Since Mr Cannon's public offer to withdraw all threat of legal action to enable the ETU to accept without embarrassment a judicial-style inquiry by the TUC, the issue becomes again what it always was: the truth or otherwise of personal allegations of individual malpractice and trickery against members of the union leadership. One way or another, these charges must be put to the test.

Mr Carron's Werewolves

While the TUC and the ETU cagily shuffled around the ring, little good was being done to responsible trade union leadership by Mr W. J. Carron's presidential address to the national committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Much of what he had to say was sound. It is true that the Communist Party, having failed to capture executive control of the great majority of British unions, is intent on denigrating the elected leadership, fomenting unofficial strikes and generally causing trouble. And certainly we can, in Mr Carron's words, 'do without thugism and anarchy'. But when a union leader delivers himself of sentences like: 'We in Great Britain will not readily follow these (Communist) werewolves who are rushing madly towards industrial ruin and howling delightedly at the foam on their muzzles which they accept as the guiding light' – then he is damaging more than the English language. Nothing is more likely to drive even the most mildly militant trade unionist into the hands of troublemakers than this sort of nonsense. It is possible, of course, that AEU members may see Mr Carron's speech as merely an expression of the bitter Catholic *versus* Communist feeling within the union. But how much more useful his speech would have been had he addressed himself to those aspects of his union's affairs which encourage 'unofficial' agitation. He had one to hand in the Scottish apprentices' strike. There his union, among others, have allowed the apprentices' wage claim to go neglected for six years. The employers have been permitted to impose extreme paternalistic notions with hardly a sound from the union until they found a strike on their hands. It is possible that this strike owes much to Communist organisation. It owes just as much to union indifference. Crying werewolf is an unacceptable method of defending trade-unionism from anarchy.

Student Strecker's Campaign

Student Strecker, the young Berliner who is conducting a campaign against the return of the Nazis to high positions in West Germany, arrived in London this week. He has now enlisted a team of young students from British universities, who are helping him in the process of unearthing and checking documentary records of Nazis who committed war crimes, and who are now employed in the public service. It is outrageous that such work should have to be left to a private individual, working virtually without funds; still more outrageous that his efforts should be impeded by the British Foreign Office and, needless to say, the West German authorities – including those controlled by Social Democrats. The West German government, after some feeble pressure from its allies, claims that it is carrying out its own investigations. These appear to be singularly lethargic and unfruitful. It asserts (incorrectly) that the US government denies it access to records. It argues that it cannot send investigators to inspect East German records, since it does not recognise the regime. But it has made no effort to enlist the cooperation of the Czech and Polish authorities, both of which hold substantial records, or even to visit files in Vienna and the Strassbourg Document Centre. Moreover, many files, as Strecker has discovered, are still held by the West German authorities themselves – such as the records of 670 death sentences carried out at the Münchenstadelheim Prison in Munich. No efforts have been made, for instance, to trace the 40,000 concentration camp wardens, classified as war criminals, who remain unpunished; or even to compile a list of known war criminals. On 8 May, the 15-year statute of limitations on crimes of manslaughter comes into effect; on 5 May, the Social Democrats will attempt to carry a bill which will date the 15-year period from the founding of the Federal Republic, thus securing more time for the tracing and conviction of war criminals. The chances of this bill being passed are remote, unless international opinion forces Dr Adenauer to accord it his support.

To Birch or Not To Birch

Outwardly the most tolerant and gentle of societies, we have a heritage of aggression which has to solace itself now with the punishment of offenders. So never a day passes without reports on the question whether we should flog each other into social conformity. Probation officers may be expected to know more about the punished man even than a Lord Chief Justice, and when Lord Parker told the annual conference of the National Association of Probation Officers last Saturday that we ought to require the police to birch or cane any under-21s committed to them for that purpose by the courts, he can hardly have been surprised that his audience rejected him. Mr Frank Dawtry, their secretary, told him that 89.7 per cent of them, recently polled on this question, were against him. Lord Feversham, their chairman, said the next day that many such youths come from a background where violence is commonplace – they are used to being beaten up and seeing other people beaten. Corporal punishment, he said, would be taken up by many people looking for a quick, easy retaliation against lawbreakers. In the *Cambridge Law Journal*, Mr Justice Salmon writes that, whereas the present clamour for the return of flogging is caused by an instinct for revenge, 'an uncertain guide and a dangerous master', six-of-the-best for the violent robber is an inadequate and ludicrous remedy. Its opponents, rejoins Lord Parker, are sentimentalists. And so the argument goes on, and will go on until the next drop in the crime figures. Then it will take a rest until the next increase, when it will re-emerge as foolish and unprofitable as ever.

News from Our Own Correspondents

Westminster

The Great Debate

Mr George Brown, like an old-school general, is sometimes inflexible. If it had been decided to fight a battle at Austerlitz he will go and fight a battle at Austerlitz with resolution and courage, even though the enemy has moved in the meantime to Waterloo. It seemed for a time that this might be so on Wednesday. The speech he began to deliver in opening the Blue Streak debate seemed to have been written two weeks previously. Then, at that time, his party for tactical reasons had rejected the idea of immediately campaigning on a wide front and had instead decided to burst through the narrow breach which had appeared in the government's defences.

During the recess, however, a couple of sergeants backed by 20,000 footsloggers had seemed to have altered both the terrain and the objective. Was Brown, who has been trained to believe that in the Labour movement plans are made and changed only by the general staff, now fighting a previous war? Had he been left behind by events? It had all begun like this.

What seems to have been an official leak to every newspaper except *The Times* and the *Daily Worker* at the beginning of Easter Week had prepared the House for Mr Harold Watkinson's announcement that Blue Streak was to be abandoned as a military weapon. When the announcement came, on the Wednesday, the Opposition leaped to the attack fully armed and, it seemed, united. Pacifists, unilateralists, conventionalists and whole-hoggers all joined as one in the onslaught against the government and subsequently against the unwitting and innocent Black Rod in that now historic scene. When the clamour subsided and Mr George Brown had failed to secure the Speaker's permission for the immediate adjournment of the House, Mr Hugh Gaitskell announced that the Opposition would put down a vote of censure forthwith. His supporters cheered him loudly.

Next day the carefully phrased motion was published. It confined itself to a comparatively narrow point – the refusal of the government to appoint a committee of inquiry into the 'initiation, continuance and cancellation of the Blue Streak missile which has involved the expenditure of a large amount of public money on a project long believed and now officially declared to be of no military value.' Many Labour members, of course, preferred the Liberal amendment, tabled the same day and calling for the abandonment not only of Blue Streak, but of the whole independent British nuclear deterrent. But it seemed that, mindful of a previous debate in which the party, poised for the kill, had allowed its own dissensions to knock itself flat, even the nuclear disarmers were this time prepared to concentrate on one immediate point of attack where the government was vulnerable, and to leave the discussion of wider policy to a later date. They were even prepared, at a party meeting held the evening before the Easter recess, to accept with surprisingly little demur that the debate should close at seven o'clock, and that the bulk of the time should be taken by four front-bench speakers. In this spirit of abstinence, the comrades parted for Easter.

Within an hour of our return, however, it was clear that the party's mood had changed. The abstinence would no longer be total. Perhaps the remarkable success of Aldermaston had strained some loyalties to breaking point. Anyway, when Mr Emmanuel Shinwell decided to make in public at Question Time the protests about the curtailment of the debate, he had already made in private, he received considerable support; and Mr R. A. Butler, amid the delighted chortles of his supporters, began to enjoy himself. Not so Mr Harold Wilson who, in the absence of his leader, Mr Hugh Gaitskell, suddenly found himself holding a most compromising baby. He had agreed to wind up the shortened debate, one suspects, only because he assumed he would have nothing more to do than riddle the wasteful policies for which the government had been responsible. But now, if Shinwell got his way, Wilson might find himself having to defend, against the weight of his own supporters, what is still the official labour party policy on the nuclear deterrent.

Shinwell got his way – after it had been well greased for him by Butler – and Wilson was left to ponder how best to serve an absent leader, whose long-term strategy brings him into continual conflict with a large section of his party, and at the same time to serve a party, which seems bent, even in matters of tactics, to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory.

As it happened he did not have to do it. For Brown after a devastating exposure of the government, entirely captured his own side in the last few minutes of his speech. Whether, he said, it was right or wrong for Britain to maintain an independent nuclear deterrent – and he had thought it was right – the government's blundering had made such a policy impossible for years to come. In these circumstances it was essential that defence policy should be re-thought: and when he clearly stated that by this he meant his own defence policy and not merely that of the government, he received a tremendous Labour cheer. After that he was appealing to wide-open ears when he urged that the wide issues of defence should be left to a later debate so that, on the immediate issue of Blue Streak blunders, the government should not be able to escape its responsibilities.

Once again the mood of the party was changed. Thereafter the attack was concentrated on the government which had its thinnest time for months; and the Labour party which, on defence, has for so long been in a long, dark tunnel, began to see at least the possibility of light. This, one would have thought, is the kind of thing that real leadership tries to achieve.

NEXT WEEK

Children's Books

Contributors include Douglas Brown, Nicholas Wollaston, John Ziman, Mary Scrutton, Hugh Shelley, Richard Garnett *and* Thomas Pakenham

Also

Unsound for the Summit

by J. B. Priestley

New Delhi

Failure of a Mission

Dorothy Woodman writes: Chou En-lai's strategy during the marathon Sino-Indian talks – maps, documents, propaganda broadsides about covetous British imperialism – failed to wear down the Indian delegation. Twenty hours of talks between himself and Nehru, plus meetings at ministerial level (with Chou showing an embarrassing preference for Krishna Menon) and at official level, failed to find a basis of agreement. Indian opinion at all levels is unanimous that the evacuation of Ladakh, as evidence of China's good faith, is the necessary prelude to any solution. Chou's midnight press conference on the eve of his visit to Nepal suggests that his one practical proposal was to bargain Ladakh for concessions on the McMahon Line. When it became obvious that the Indians were unwilling to concede China the fruits of their aggressive policy, the Chinese repeated the thesis, *ad nauseam*, that the Sino-Indian border is undelimited and that it should be declared open to negotiation. The Chinese, appreciating that the breakdown of the talks would create a bad impression, fell back on a second line of defence: that talks at an official level should continue, alternately in Peking and Delhi, on the rival maps and documents.

Throughout the talks, the Chinese were surprised at the effective documentation – which included international maps, some of Chinese origin – which the Indians had collected to support their case. In the middle of the conference, the dramatic arrival of a further load of documents from Ladakh monasteries added further power to Nehru's elbow. The Chinese were also impressed by the well-documented Indian press, and its careful, unemotional coverage.

The talks achieved, first, a mutual recognition of the rival positions, and secondly an understanding that, while the documentary material is being further examined, every effort should be made to avoid friction and clashes in the border areas – the importance of this is increasing as the snows melt and troop movements become easier. Thirdly, the border dispute has now become a matter for the conference table instead of a shooting match. Fourthly, the Chinese have now stated that they respect India's special relations with Sikkim and Bhutan and have no boundary dispute with either.

Chou is now in Nepal. After continuous talks for six days, Indian opinion remains bewildered by China's overall policy. The privately expressed suspicion that China's tactics are to isolate India has been confirmed by her recent pact with Burma and by the current negotiations in Nepal. It is believed that China is now in an expansionist mood. Neither Burma nor Nepal seems likely to give India any active help. Meanwhile, India's Pakistan flank is still unsettled. There is a growing realisation here that the boundary issue will take a long time to solve – Nehru suggested from ten to 40 years. But if there is any uncertainty about the real aims of Chinese policy, there is no doubt that Nehru's aim is to prevent the border from flaring up. If this happens, the responsibility will rest with China.

Paris

The Deserters

Our Paris Correspondent writes: Last week's seizure by the police of all copies of *France-Observateur* and *L'Express* was unfortunately timed in view of General de Gaulle's visit to Washington: it was a reminder both that press freedom in France is severely limited, and that the Algerian war is still going on. For the crime of these two papers was simply to publish accounts of a press conference, held secretly in Paris, by Professor Francis Jeanson, who runs a pro-FLN French underground; and to discuss – in an objective manner – the problems of conscience which confront young French conscripts who are opposed to the war. As it happens, both papers take a conservative line on this point: in the debate which is now raging on the French left, both have advised strongly against a policy of unconditional solidarity with the FLN. The debate is not a new one, but it came sharply into the news a few weeks ago when the police arrested a number of young intellectuals, most of whom were women, accused of helping members of the Algerian underground in France.

The right-wing press began by describing these people as outright traitors, in the pay of the FLN; enormous sums were mentioned. Then *Paris Presse* produced a more ingenious theory: the Algerians had sent to France a 'commando group' of 'Don Juans', whose job was first to seduce these young girls, then enlist them in treason. But with the publication of the names of the accused, even the most case-hardened right-wing commentators were obliged to withdraw their theories. Jeanson, the head of the organisation, is a distinguished writer and philosopher, a one-time colleague of Sartre and the author of a book about him. Among those arrested are the daughter of Professor Besançon, one of France's best-known doctors, and the son of André Masson, the famous painter. None of those on the list is the sort of person who could easily be seduced – by money or anything else. Jeanson himself escaped from the police, and at his press conference explained that his network is still in action, hiding Algerians on the run, and collecting funds which it transfers to the FLN. For him, the duty of the French Left is clear: since the Algerians' cause is just, both humanitarian and political reasons dictate that decent-minded Frenchmen should help them in any way possible. The last number of *Les Temps Modernes* makes it plain that Sartre and his followers share this view.

France-Observateur and *L'Express*, on the other hand, argue that Jeanson, while acting in good faith, is advocating a policy which is purely romantic and unrealistic. They are also opposed to the appeals to conscripts to desert, which Jeanson's network has been making with some success. Those on the left, they say, cannot place themselves unconditionally on the side of the Algerian nationalists; on the other hand, it cannot be denied that the problem exists, and that in the last few years over 3,000 young Frenchmen have chosen desertion and exile rather than serve in Algeria. To attempt to suppress this fact – and the arrests of such men as the writer Georges Arnaud, who took part in the secret press conference – is no solution to the crisis of conscience which the Algerian war has provoked among decent people in France.

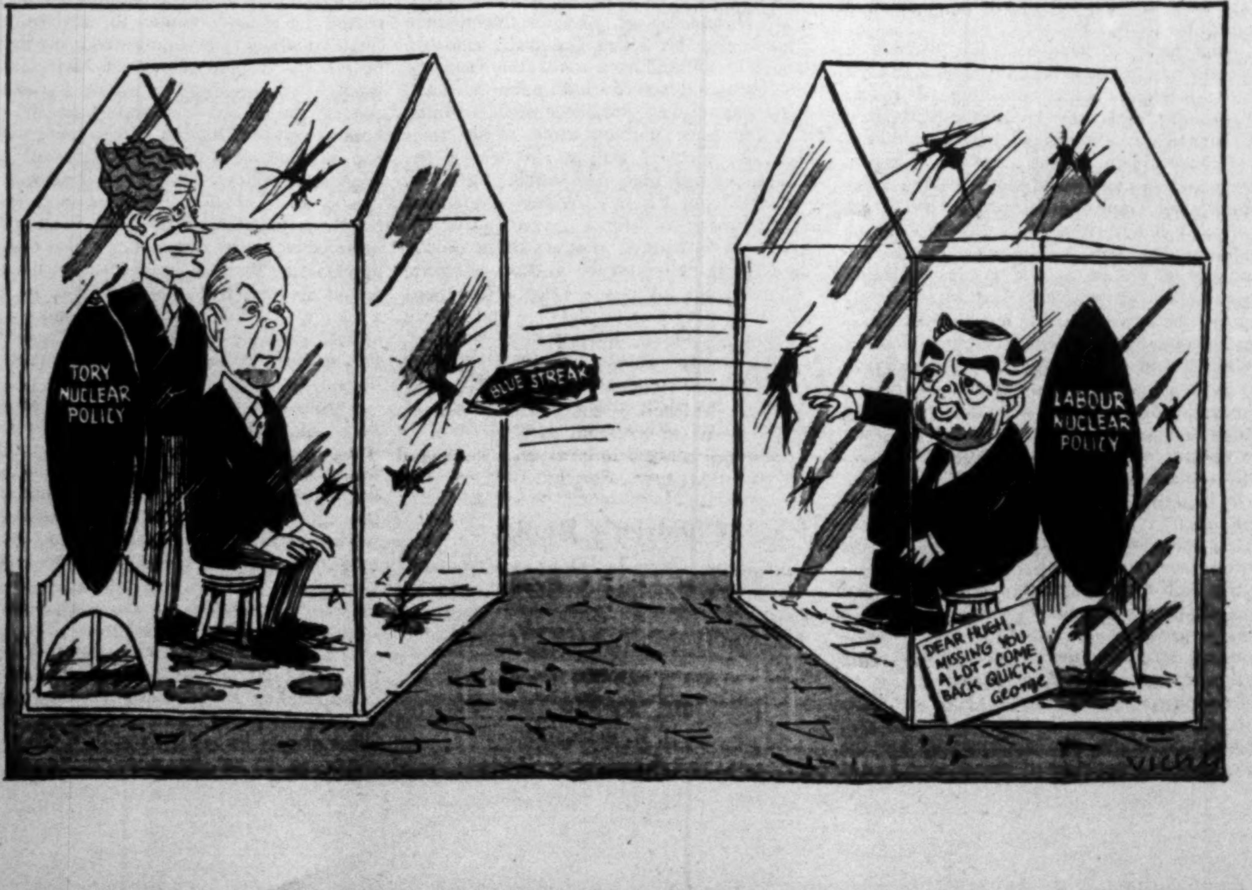
While de Gaulle was being feted in Washington, M. Debré went a step further in his efforts to suppress public criticism of the war. Sunday's *Journal Officiel* published an ordinance which allows the transfer to military courts of all crimes 'committed in relation with the events occurring in the Algerian departments since 30 October 1954'. In effect, this means that any person or newspaper who criticises the war, or its conduct, or even attempts to report objectively what is going on in Algeria, may now find himself at the mercy of a court martial.

Fleet Street

Weak to the Wall

The death warrant is being written for yet another magazine. This time it is *Lilliput*, once famous among the sophisticated for its pictorial wit and for the photo-comparisons with which it pricked the pretensions of the mighty. According to present plans it is to be put to death in July by its new proprietors, Odhams Press, who took it over as part of their Hulton Press deal. Or rather it is to suffer a fate journalistically almost worse than death – absorption in this case with *Men Only*.

Lilliput has suffered a number of vicissitudes since its first great days. But the interesting thing is that at the moment chosen for



its execution it is going through a notable revival of quality under a new editor, Denis Pitts, who was put in charge of it only a matter of six months or so ago. Its latest issues have provided an interesting experiment in combining serious reportage, often at a high documentary level, with sophisticated comment and a no doubt necessary amount of sex. It has shown signs of successfully aiming at a market, probably mainly male, which has some relation, although not by any means one of complete identity, with that so successfully developed in the woman's field by the *Queen*. Its line has been to mix knowingness with intelligence and to provide in a slightly glossy British context something of the appeal of, say, *Esquire* in America. In the course of this it has managed to combine articles on the economics of strip-tease with a serious examination of the present position of Nato, intelligent studies of the current state of the live theatre with the latest line in film stars and models, a sensible look at the obscenity laws with a glance at the boom in sailing and a critical study of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It has still been losing money but over recent months its circulation, which was falling towards the end of last year, has shown signs of a steady if not spectacular rise. Its next ABC figures will probably be around 73,000 but there seems every likelihood that by July, when it is due to die, it will have reached around 80,000. One way and another one might have thought it a proposition that a vast concern like Odhams could well have considered nursing along a little longer to see whether the omens of success could be made to add up to something.

But that is not the way of the modern giants of the mass periodical world. It may seem odd to the uninitiated – or the uncommercial – that a circulation of 80,000, plus a certain amount of history and a fair chance of some prestige, is no longer enough for modest success or even for survival. Why they are not is significant not only for *Lilliput* but for the whole periodical world. Since taking over Hulton Press, Odhams have already closed down one of its 'quality' magazines, *Design For Industry*. There are strong rumours that it may close down others, although I hope these will not prove true, just as I hope it may even yet think it worth while to take another look at *Lilliput*.

A factor in the proposed demise of *Lilliput* is apparently that its printers, Eric Bemrose Ltd of Liverpool, who used also at one time to print *Picture Post*, have recently received a contract for *Woman's Sunday Mirror* in its new photogravure dress which makes it more difficult for them to handle the fairly modest print order of *Lilliput*. Odham's own photogravure plant at Watford is too busy turning out millions of glossy women's magazines and getting ready for the great *Daily Herald* experiment in colour to have time or machines to waste on so inconsiderable a business as a comparatively intelligent monthly with a circulation of a mere 80,000. All these are no doubt very good commercial reasons for a spot of justifiable Fleet Street homicide. Printing plants are costly enterprises. If their time is more economically occupied in turning out more and more copies of the same thing why should they be bothered with the unsocial desires of unimportant minority groups for a little variety and intelligence in their reading matter. Yet after all publishing – even magazine publishing – used to recognise some other claims than those of the highest profit.

It ought surely to be possible even in these days to make a monthly magazine selling at two shillings a viable proposition with a circulation of around 80,000. If it isn't, then those in charge of the periodical publishing business seem to me to be guilty of remarkable inefficiency. Of course it isn't possible if such magazines are expected to provide the same profit margin and be governed by exactly the same economic considerations as weeklies selling two or three millions to a mass audience avid for more and more of the same thing. But if the big organisations cannot find a means of doing this, then it seems to me they are falling down on an important part of their job – especially in a world where their appetite for expansion has, as in the case of Odhams, led to them buying up control of any small and medium-size periodical house they can lay their hands on. I do not expect the directors of massive publishing firms to be philanthropists. But I do think the reading public has some right to expect that they will so order their affairs that it is not quite impossible for the small and middle-sized to survive.

FRANCIS WILLIAMS

Cardiff

Drinking Song

A Special Correspondent writes: The Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales to be held here in the capital city in August is casting its eerie shadows even longer and deeper than usual. For decades the Eisteddfod committee has been sniped at for musical obscurantism, for excessive obsequiousness to the chapel-men. This year one of the choral competition's set-pieces is a daring excerpt from Vaughan Williams's *Sir John in Love* called *Drinking Song*. Around this departure from the age-old customs (a mere 150 years in fact) there is currently uproar. Temperance unions have passed resolutions, while the Trimsaran male voice choir have angrily withdrawn from the competition. Their objections to the song are not grounded in musical taste so much as profound moral indignation.

Trimsaran is an anthracite-mining village (population 2,500 'if you count the suburbs') in the green fields of Carmarthenshire. Bible-black was one of the adjectives Dylan Thomas, who understood the place, used about this most fascinating of Welsh counties. The local accent is the most musical of Welsh accents; its hymn-writers the most imaginative and powerful. It is a famous fishing and drinking county. There are remote valleys of quite extraordinary loveliness. Nevertheless the Trimsaran choir, nearly all coal-miners, have been struck with what seems a fit of bigotry.

'We are all temperance men, all 30 of us' said Mr Jenkins the conductor, 'and this song is an offence. Last October we won the miners' Eisteddfod' – the cup stood on the china cabinet in the front parlour – 'and so we were encouraged to enter for the national for the first time. So that we are very disappointed at the Eisteddfod committee. Yes, our decision was as one man.'

The line to which gravest objection is taken reads: *But belly, God send thee good ale enough, Whether it be new or old.* Isn't God the enemy of drink? 'The other set-piece was by Bach' said Mr Jenkins. 'A nice, sacred piece. How can any man of religion sing the both together?' This question has troubled other choirs in Wales. One hushed its conscience by vowing not to sing the song at all once the Eisteddfod was over. No other has imitated Trimsaran.

But the Trimsaran decision was taken with nothing like the unanimity it's suggested. 'Give me a belly-full of good ale and it works wonders on the voice' said a miner who had sung with the choir. 'The truth is' said his friend, 'that the only people who can conduct us don't drink and there's an end to it'. 'I have resigned from the choir' said Mr Williams the butcher, 'and don't wish to discuss it'. 'First I've heard of it' said the publican, 'but it takes a long time before they accept you down here'.

Trimsaran demonstrates how the events by which the character of social life is roughly gauged can be dominated by vanishing forces. Like most Welsh villages where people speak Welsh life is changing. It is still startlingly different from, say, life in a Birmingham suburb. But girls now stroll the quiet streets in tartan slacks, front parlours are brought into use for social occasions less dramatic than funerals and weddings: pots with ferns are disappearing from windows. Also in decline is the temperance movement: the Rechabites are no longer part of everyone's life. Yet the conductors, like the professors and the MPs, tend to be temperance. Even 20 years ago the Trimsaran affair would have aroused the anger of young men throwing off the yoke of the bible-belt oppressions. Now it is fashionable to know all the chapel hymns. Trimsaran is a last stand.

Too Good to be True?

NOTHING succeeds like failure. Or so it would seem from the present state of Hungary. In October 1956 there was a national uprising. It was crushed by Soviet troops and Soviet tanks. Thousands fled to the West; hundreds, perhaps thousands, were imprisoned. The Communist dictatorship was restored. Yet, when I was in Hungary the other day, I was constantly told on every subject that came up: 'Things are much better than before 1956'. There is more food and more academic freedom. There are no arbitrary arrests, no knock at the door in the night. Most of those sentenced to prison in 1956 have just been released under an amnesty. The Communist government is still there, outwardly monolithic, but it rules without fuss. It does not ask to be loved or admired, only to be left alone while it tries to do its best. This is dictatorship with a difference – the difference being that the Communists have heeded the warning of 1956 and now, like the bosses of old, are anxious to do everything for the masses except get off their backs.

I think most of the claims made about the present conditions in Hungary are true. Of course a visitor does not learn much in ten days, even if he knows what to look for; and I find it embarrassing to accost strangers in the street. I was not quite an official visitor. Three of us were entertained by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (history, Greek and economics count as sciences in Hungary, as elsewhere on the continent). We met academic colleagues, not politicians. I dined in a professor's home, talked to students, visited archives and research institutes. On this level, I can say without doubt that Hungarian scholars know much more of the work we are doing than we know of theirs. Yet theirs is by no means contemptible. Lip-service to Marxism now and then is all that distinguishes it from scholarship in the West.

I did a good deal of looking, though not much asking. Awkward questions produce answers which are not so much misleading as empty. You run up against a blank wall; and can never tell whether it is lack of understanding, unwillingness to answer, or that there is no answer to questions framed in western terms. Besides, I was constantly afraid that I might get my hosts into trouble; though I was always told that now ('after 1956') this would not happen. Still, anyone learns a certain amount if he merely uses his eyes.

The solid, unmistakable fact is that Hungarians are now pretty well off. They have enough to eat – indeed more than enough for our contemporary English appetites. This is not a judgment based only on meals in restaurants, where I was always worrying about my figure. The restaurants are crowded, not only in Budapest, but in provincial towns. At the weekends, family parties dine out, the small children running up and down the aisles as tiresomely as they do elsewhere. But I also went through the covered food-market in Budapest on my own; and the show had certainly not been put on for my benefit. I have never seen a greater display, particularly of meat and salami. There was a crush of people round every stall; and they had come to buy, not to look.

I was shocked by the price of tea and coffee: tea at £2 a pound – this awful China tea as the Hungarians mistakenly complained – coffee at £3 10s. But they are not expensive in cafés. Espresso coffee costs sixpence a cup; and I got a pot of excellent tea in the best hotel for a shilling. Apart from this, food-prices, at the official tourist rate of exchange (65 forints to the pound), are about on the English level. I calculated that wages were about half the English rate – the average industrial wage was said to be between £6 and £7. Against this, rents are much lower, only about a quarter of what they are in England.

The food-shops are not the only ones which are full of goods. There are clothes of every quality, from the multiple-stores to the elegant private shops which have survived unchanged from the old days. I can well believe that there is nothing to rival them in any other country east of the Iron Curtain. Again, this applies in the provinces as much as in Budapest. The peasants now have better clothes, more furniture, even better houses. The general impression was confirmed by the inquiries which Joan Robinson, one of my companions, made into economic policy. The government has cut down investment in heavy industry, and is concentrating on the production of consumer-goods. If Hungary still has political problems, these do not spring from economic misery. The days of hardship are over.

But politically? Here I was as much in the dark at the end as at the beginning. People did not seem to want to talk about politics. This was not, apparently, from fear: they would talk if I provoked them into it, but they were not interested. Was this apathy? Indifference? Or tolerance of the present government? I never reached a clear answer. I never encountered assertive discontent, though I met a number who had never been Communists. On the other hand, I failed to see any signs of enthusiasm. We were there on 4 April, which is now kept as a national holiday to celebrate the liberation of Budapest by the Russians in 1945. The public buildings were decorated with Hungarian flags and red banners. In private houses one window in 20 displayed a streamer; the others remained empty. Most people ignored the bands and the military procession. There was no resentment; it was as if the demonstration were not taking place. I never saw a picture of Kadar, or of any other political leader.

In fact the only sign of being in a Communist country is that an Englishman can buy only the *Daily Worker* and the *Peking Review* at the news-stalls. And who on earth would want to buy them? There are no political jokes, except old ones from the time of Rakosi. This, too, might be fear; but I think it is rather the feeling that politics are too unimportant to be funny. The Russians are unobtrusive. I saw one, himself sight-seeing, during my whole stay. But their presence presumably makes it difficult for the Hungarians to foresee any real change. Hence they make the best of things.

I formed two crude political impressions, both subjective and impossible to defend rationally. One is that nobody is opposed to the government in present circumstances. The other, that not more than 10 per cent would vote Communist in a free election. This second opinion, when expressed, provoked on one occasion the cheerful answer: 'Well, that is much more than would have voted Communist before 1956'. Usually, however, it met with protests. How did I know? Nearly all the workers and most of the peasants, I was told, would vote Communist. It may be so. No one can tell; and my snap judgment is as unfair and as misleading as any other must be until it is tried out.

Nobody knows; that is the truth of it, neither I nor the Communists. Tolerance, yes. Support, who can tell? The Communist Party itself is smaller than before 1956. Many people left then and did not rejoin. They have not suffered for this; and most of them have stayed out to look after their own affairs; not from political disagreement. There are stories in the West that young men are still being hanged for their activities. I could not, of course, get any information about this though I inquired on every possible occasion. One telling point was made to me – again, not always by Communists. Previously it always became known when somebody had been arrested. Now no one had heard of a single case where a known individual had been hanged. 'Hangings? We have never heard of them'. I think the answer was honest, though not of course conclusive. But what would be the point of hanging people unless the fact became known? A Terror which gives no sign of existing as almost as ineffective as no Terror at all.

To me (and I have some experience in these matters) people did not seem to be either frightened or discontented. I speculated why Hungary could not share the destiny of Austria, its neighbour – also prosperous, also bored with politics, and now a harmless neutral. Sometimes I was told that Hungary, if truly independent, would not be content with the position of a small power. There were mutterings about Transylvania and other *irredenta*. But sometimes I was told: 'We are getting to be very like Austria in any case. The differences betwen us will fade away'. As, incidentally, the armed frontier between them seems to have done. I kept watch for it on the train, yet missed it. Did I fall asleep? Or is it no longer there? I shall never know.

Joan Robinson summed up our impressions: 'Too good to be true'. A Hungarian friend replied: 'It is true all the same'. Which was right? I am at a loss for an answer. Conditions in Hungary were certainly much better than I expected them to be. But whether they are all that they are claimed to be I just could not make out. I fear that my Hungarian friends will call this '*bourgeois* objectivism'.

A. J. P. Taylor

An Indian Diary

Delhi is now one of the world's great capital cities and the flags are usually out for some top-flight guest. Recent visitors have included Voroshilov, Eisenhower, Macmillan, Krushchev, Sukarno and Nasser. Chou En-lai, who a couple of years ago would have been the most popular of all, is the first not to be warmly welcomed. The visitor is driven in an open car with the Prime Minister along the splendid Durbar route which Lutyens planned; the new buildings that line it are architecturally in keeping with Government House, even though it was built in the Curzon tradition to over-awe the Indians by Imperial splendour. The car passes along the main roads and the guest sees no bullock carts, unless he enters old Delhi, and no typical Indian poverty, unless he goes out into the villages where 80 per cent of India's population still lives. He may see Delhi's grand hotel, the Ashoka, and at the same time find himself in the midst of one of the most interesting and varied experiments in town planning. It is an area set aside for foreign embassies; each nation has built in its own chosen style, with the palm, I should say, going easily to the Swedes, who have provided themselves with a house which is nothing short of superb. He may be less impressed with the sprawling suburbs that spring up overnight in every direction from Delhi; many Indians think them regrettably haphazard and complain that it is a bad idea to plan so that, in effect, all the people in each area must belong to the same income group. In Delhi itself at peak hours, cars become entangled in a complex jam mainly of bicycles, thousands of them. When half of the cyclists, who now wait their turn for a car, have exchanged their cycles for a scooter or some other form of motor vehicle, Delhi's traffic problem will make London and Paris streets look comparatively empty.

* * *

At 70 Jawarhalal Nehru is very fit, resilient, and sometimes positively boyish. Watch him at a press conference – one would have thought an unnecessary addition to his fantastic burden of work because the press conference was evolved in the US as a substitute for parliamentary questions, which are not part of the American system as they are to the Indian and British system. Still the journalists like it and Nehru enjoys himself. He is a man of moods and he thinks aloud. He answers more like a professor dealing with a sixth form than a politician trying to catch votes or cover up mistakes. He makes many mistakes, not what Gandhi called Himalayan blunders, but foothill stumbles which keep him constantly in trouble. Undoubtedly he did interfere with the judicial process in a small and not serious way when he suggested to the Governor of Bombay that he should take a popular naval officer convicted of murder (a *crime passionel*) out of the hands of the civil authorities and leave him in naval custody pending his appeal. The case made big headlines when I was in Delhi. But no one could be really angry with the Prime Minister when he explained himself; he was so clearly misled by good nature, not by any thought of personal or party advantage. He knocks out his enemies by candour; he defends his colleagues and civil servants until – and sometimes after – they are proved beyond doubt to be in the wrong. He has a tough job defending Krishna Menon who is always a target; no one thinks him personally corrupt, but he seems at times careless about his friends. Krishna is the only Socialist Cabinet Minister apart from Nehru; he is also one of the ablest. What Nehru chiefly needs is a first-class minister, with ideas broadly similar to his own, who could take charge of the economic side of the administration.

* * *

The Indian press, English and vernacular, is now mainly in the hands of big business; the proprietors cooperate with disgruntled politicians in vilifying Nehru and the government. Nehru's handling of the Chinese frontier dispute has given them plenty of ammunition; their other theme is corruption. Corruption of course there is, but you don't need much inside knowledge to see that it is played up partly from malice against Nehru and, in some cases, by people who are very willing to see democracy discredited. Attacks come from the right wing Jana Sangh, from the new Swatantra party, from Kripalani and the frustrated Socialists and, of course, from the Communists. One listens with more respect to Deshmukh who was once Finance Minister and who needlessly resigned. His view is that India needs a permanent commission to consider the innumerable charges of corruption and decide when a *prima face* case has been made. The Prime Minister resists this proposal, judging no doubt that many frivolous or malicious charges would be made against his ministers for political reasons. No one, for instance, seriously thinks that the Home Minister is corrupt because his son has been given a very well paid post at an unusually early age. Deshmukh replies that the Prime Minister cannot, with the best will in the world, personally sift each complaint and that only a statutory body with this special function can guarantee the secrecy and the protection without which witnesses cannot make their allegations. Many conversations with people likely to know have convinced me that the most serious corruption is to be found among some members of the state governments, who feather their nests very much as English 18th-century politicians did when they had similar opportunities.

* * *

Everyone asks about the future of the Swatantra Party and everyone asks why Rajagopalachari, now 80, should say that Congress is all the same as Communism when he must know that more than half Congress holds the conservative views similar to his own. Rajaji has a great record of brave leadership; though he often differed from Nehru in the past, he worked well with him when he was Governor General. Nor was it Nehru's fault that he did not become President of the Republic. Today, when we should all be delighted to honour him, Rajaji talks like a frustrated and malicious opponent; he is almost as wild as Kripalani. Worse still, he first joins up with the notorious spokesman of big business with which he has never been associated, and then seeks an alliance with communal parties like the Akhali and Jana Sangh, though he himself has never been a communalist. But Nehru rightly welcomed the Swatantra party on the grounds that it gathered together all the people with the wrong opinions. The time will come, no doubt, when a real conservative party – the Swatantra or another – will take part of Congress with it; then the only effective party of the left will be the Communists. A number of serious, progressive-minded members of Congress, anticipating this new alignment, are preparing to join forces with the less doctrinaire Communists in the hope of creating a genuinely Socialist party.

* * *

In India the Russians are as popular today as the Chinese are the reverse. They play their cards well; their tourists, of whom there are now a good many in India, do not demand outrageous luxuries and they are always led by an interpreter who speaks Hindi; their experts, at work on important projects, take it for granted that they will live as their Indian colleagues live and that they must be able to talk their language. The contrast with the Americans, to whom an Indian standard of living is simply unthinkable, is one of the Soviet Union's notable assets. The taint of charity does not cling to the Russians; they do not promise to 'improve India's living standards,' but they offer them a helping hand in the proud task of building a great nation, Always they have this notion of making less technically advanced countries proud of themselves. They made a popular gift while I was in Delhi. India's great world agricultural fair was closing when I arrived. The British had not thought it worth while to have a pavilion, though a few private firms showed excellent wares. The Chinese, Americans and Russians had vast displays. The Russians supplied popular concerts every day and at the winding-up ceremony the favourite Russian tenor sang several numbers (including an Indian equivalent of 'Home, Sweet Home') in a saccharine manner not unlike Liberace's. When the Russians left they presented their hosts with the prize cattle and chickens and the agricultural machinery from their pavilion. They have also arranged for exhibitions of Indian painting in Moscow and, really important, announced the foundation of a 'University of Friendship' for boys and girls from Asian countries. They offer free tuition, living and travel. They expect 500 students at once, with 3,000 to 4,000 in the future.

* * *

Writing recently (2 April) about Nepal's determination to retain her independence of both China and India, I referred to the presence of 'Indian garrisons' serving on Nepal's northern frontier. The phrase, I learn has been misinterpreted, and I should explain that I referred to Nepalese garrisons which include Indian personnel employed by the Nepalese government.

* * *

Talking of the great hunger for cars in India, I see from a Delhi newspaper that 'about 200 cars belonging to diplomats were sold at fabulous prices in Delhi during the past year'. These diplomats make quite a problem for a government which needs foreign exchange and tries to stop black market operations. Here is an example. A senior diplomat in a Commonwealth mission contracted to sell his 1958 model Chevrolet for Rs 48,000 a year ago. He received an advance of Rs 5,000 eight months before the transfer was due, but stayed for some more months, by which time the value of Chevrolets had gone up. So he paid back the advance and sold the car to another purchaser for Rs 51,000. The original purchaser was out of pocket by Rs 1,000, paid to a broker who had arranged the sale. The newspaper calculates that the diplomat made a profit of about Rs 34,000 on his used car.

CRITIC

This England

Prizes: £1 for the first entry and 5/- for each of the others printed. Paste entries on a postcard.

One old lady of Royston refused to sign a petition against the Boundary Commission's proposal to make the town part of Cambridgeshire, instead of Hertfordshire as at present. Her reason, the town council was told yesterday, was: 'The Cambridgeshire air suits me better'. *News Chronicle.* (W. Rosenstock.)

A city housing official said yesterday: 'We peeped under the white sheets shrouding the statue and were shocked. It's vulgar and hasn't the remotest tie with housing. Women callers will be embarrassed.' Council F. Griffin, a member of the Civic Development sub-committee which ordered the statue, said: 'We left it to the sculptor's judgment. I can see no connection between nudity and housing.' *People.* (Maryl Davies.)

Will the parents of the boy who gave a little boy an apple in exchange for his tricycle outside the Sale Lido on Friday between 6 and 7, kindly return it at once? Advt. in *Manchester Evening News.* (E.B.)

It appears that some of the town Africans of Durban, Capetown and Johannesburg have been restive over the pass laws. Letter in *Daily Telegraph.* (Ian Macintyre.)

Fire-eaters, sword swallowers, preferably with ecclesiastical experience, required May-June. Advt. in *The Times.* (Rosalind Gentleman.)

A Letter from Chessman

A GROUP of 'ordinary citizens' in California have sent the NEW STATESMAN a copy of a letter written by Caryl Chessman to Governor Brown, during the capital punishment debate touched off by Chessman's eighth reprieve – which expires on Monday. In a covering letter they maintain (though Chessman himself seems to have no knowledge of this) that the Governor can still ask the California Supreme Court for clemency powers in this case, a step which has never been taken; they think the execution itself would now be a crime; and they are 'staggered at the pressures of respectable society to destroy this man – the Los Angeles police officially urging Governor Brown to 'show no consideration of mercy' and the *Los Angeles Times* calling Chessman 'a vicious criminal who is making a mockery of the courts and of the law'.

Chessman's letter, 6,000 words long, is a remarkable document, fluctuating between histrionic platitude and completely objective argument. Recalling that at 4.45 p.m. on 18 February he was removed from Death Row in San Quentin Prison to the small cell adjoining the gas chamber, where the condemned spend their last night, he writes:

> I held out no feverish, desperate hope for a life-sparing miracle. On the contrary what sustained me, what made it possible for me to await the morning and oblivion with a detached, almost clinical calm was hope of an entirely different sort: the burning hope that my execution would lead to an objective reappraisal of the social validity of capital punishment, and that such a re-examination would lead, in turn, to an awareness on the part of all Californians that Death Row, and death chambers, and executioners were unworthy of our society.

He listened to the radio news-bulletins about the efforts being made to save his life, heard that Governor Brown had said 'Only an act of God can save Caryl Chessman now', read the newspaper stories about his last hours, and studied their pictures of the gas chamber, most of which he has done on so many occasions before.

When the Warden had told him of his reprieve and he was back on Death Row for the ninth time, he wrote thus to Governor Brown:

> I cannot escape the fact that I owe you my life for whatever days remain to me. I cannot forget that literally millions of people from nations around the world spoke out for me. In terms of the larger social good that is your goal, my obligation is a heavy one, and I refuse to try to rationalise it away. Over and over I have asked myself the questions: What possibly can I do, if anything, to divorce the ugly, emotion-inflaming image of Caryl Chessman from the grave social issue of capital punishment? What can I say, and mean, and demonstrate? First, I decided, I can offer them my life. If the hysteria and mob-wrath that surround the problem can be propitiated only by my death, and if otherwise they agree that the death penalty should be abolished, then I earnestly urge the members of our legislature to frame their bill in such a way as to exclude me. This can be done readily – for example, by a declaration in the law that anyone convicted of a capital offence during or subsequent to the year 1950, whose sentence of death remains in force and unexecuted, shall be treated as though serving a sentence of life imprisonment. I give my solemn word before the world that I will never challenge such a law in the courts; and I will disavow any attempt by any attorney purporting so to act in my behalf.

The significance of the suggestion is that his own offence was committed in 1948.

In the death cell he had seen Mr Stanley Mosk, the Attorney-General, interviewed on a television programme:

> Mr Mosk declared it as his opinion that it would be quite all right for California to proceed to take my life now that Mr Eisenhower had been spared 'embarrassment' and possible danger. What, he was asked, would California do in the period I again was waiting to die, to justify its proposed lethal act? Well, he replied with a wry grin, he had been informed that the US Information Agency, in cooperation with California, would disseminate the 'real facts' about the Chessman case to the world. His startling implication was that it was only ignorance, rather than considerations of compassion and humanity, which had prompted world-wide protest . . . .

Chessman sees, more clearly than most people, how the question of his guilt or innocence and of 'the facts of the case' has lost its relevance. He retells in his letter the familiar story of his 12½ years of deadly litigation, refers to the California legislature's special session (imminent when he wrote, but fatal, when it came, to his hopes) to consider abolishing the death penalty, and adds:

> I gladly would die 10,000 gas chamber deaths if that would bring these truths into the hearts and minds of those who make our laws. A vote either for abolition or for a moratorium is not an approval of murder or other capital crimes, for the death penalty does not deter. It does not protect society. On the contrary it leaves it defenceless, since, as long as we have an executioner and a gas chamber, we shall be content to believe that we can bury the problem with the offender.

Self-dramatisation, of which Chessman has become a tireless exponent, cannot rob this appeal of its individual poignancy or its importance for humanity; and to it no word need be added.

C. H. ROLPH

The Little Sister

THE history of the British Royal Family conforms to a strange rhythm: its generations alternate between saints and sinners. Charles I, that dull and high-minded unfortunate, seems to have begun the tradition: his son Charles II was an engaging reprobate. James II, in his turn, bred two very respectable daughters, and the Hanoverians obligingly carried on the pattern. George I's eldest son spent most of his life in dissipation; but the next monarch, George III was a model of the domestic virtues. He produced the brilliant and dissolute George IV, whose brother, the equally wicked Duke of Kent, bred Victoria – and an age of virtue. And so it has gone on. The pastimes of Victoria's eldest, Edward VII, were sleeping with actresses and pouring brandy on the heads of his long-suffering courtiers; but this did not prevent him from breeding, in George V, a stern-minded and dedicated successor, whose worst indulgence was stamp-collecting. The Old Adam came back with Edward VIII, who had to be replaced with his impeccable brother; but once again the next generation restored the balance by producing, in Elizabeth II, a shining upholder of all the personal and constitutional proprieties.

Indeed, perhaps it has done something more: for Elizabeth and her sister Margaret seem to embody this historic dualism in the space of a single generation. Both were brought up together in the dull, faintly upper middle-class atmosphere of George VI's domestic circle – the tweedy, equestrian round between Glamis Castle, York Cottage and 96 Piccadilly. Both were subjected to the academic attentions of 'Crawfie.' Both were nuzzled by tribes of friendly dogs, sat around the camp-fires at worthy Girl Guide jamborees, and learnt to endure the symbolic privations of a royal family at war.

And yet, to students of the saints-and-sinners theory, what a satisfying contrast they make! Elizabeth conforms with almost painful exactitude to the tradition set by her father and grandfather. Apart from her respectable passions for horses and fierce small dogs, her entire waking life is devoted to her constitutional functions. She reads all her Cabinet papers thoroughly, and annotates them in a firm, legible hand. She takes rapid and sensible decisions about the administration of her vast possessions. She accepts without complaint the most rigorous schedules, entertains visiting magnates with earnestness and tact – if without charm – and never keeps anyone waiting. Cabinet ministers find her impressive, even formidable; for though her views are conventional, they are thoughtful and cogently expressed, and they adhere strictly to the constitutional limitations of her office. Her court is proper, decent and safe. Granted the necessity of the monarchy as an institution, it is difficult to see how it could be placed in more trustworthy hands.

Margaret, on the other hand, plays the Mary to her sister's Martha. Like Elizabeth, she was never allowed to acquire the mental disciplines of an academic education; but unlike her this gap has not been filled by the practical disciplines of office. She is restless; spasmodic – though often intense – in her interests; easily bored. Unlike Elizabeth, too, she is deeply emotional and oscillates easily between elation and gloom. She devours magazines, modish books, delights in fashionable West End musical comedies, 'good' jazz and the latest semi-intellectual cultural imports from America. She reads Ustinov rather than Snow; and her favourite French author is that ageing smarty Cocteau. There is a certain brittle superficiality about her mind, an inability to concentrate for long, which sometimes disturbs her elders. She has, in fact, few real resources with which to face life.

None of this, of course, has prevented her from becoming, like her uncle Edward VIII, the most fashionable figure of her day. On the contrary, her limitations have helped: in high society, earnestness has never been an asset. Most people in her world find Princess Margaret an engaging person. Despite the suspect panegyrics of the women's magazines, she has genuine good looks: almost all men judge her physically attractive.

She has a quick – even a sharp – wit; only her silences are dull. Most of her close friends are above average intelligence; a few, such as Judy Montagu, are really bright. Margaret has, like her aunt the Duchess of Kent, a real flair for dressing well, and a shrewd eye for what is likely to be smart the day-after-next. In the mercurial world enshrined between the covers of *Vogue* and *Harpers* – from restaurants and night-clubs to poets and painters – she has a knack of setting the fashions.

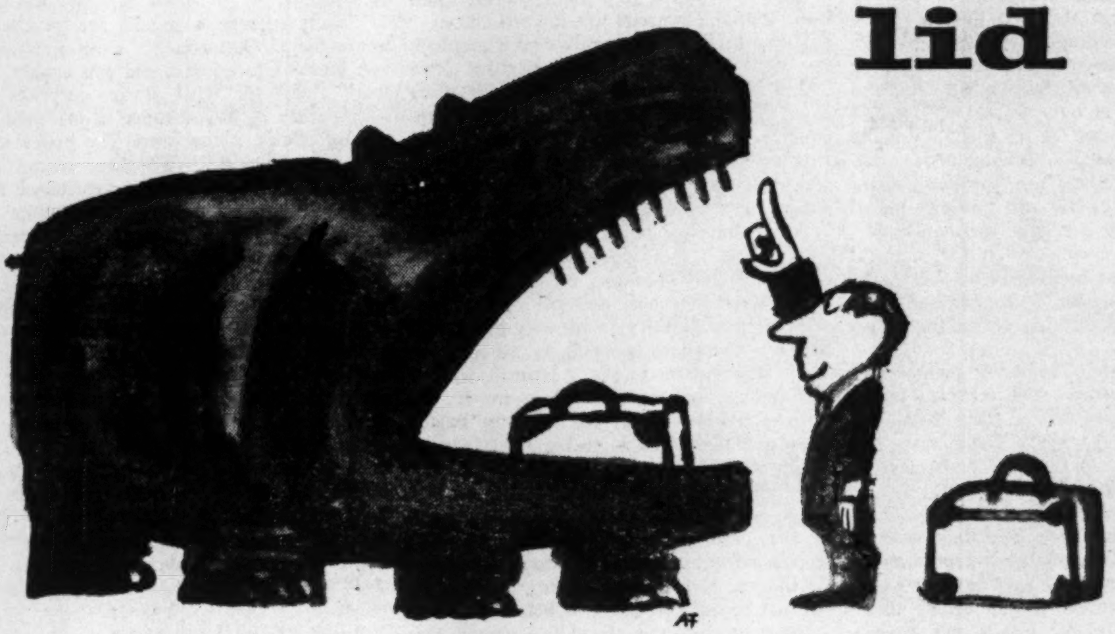
But for Princess Margaret, social success has never been enough. Being emotional, even passionate, she required a firm and deep personal relation to act as a steadying anchor in her life. And this is where her difficulties began. After her sister's marriage, she automatically became the most eligible woman in the world. But, for this very reason, her choice was strictly limited: a dozen eldest sons at home, a score of minor royalties, chiefly German, abroad. For a woman who demanded specific requirements in a man, and who was determined to get them, the choice was not wide enough. One by one, she met the prescribed paragons and struck them off her list; they married, and the circle narrowed. As the years passed, it became increasingly obvious that she would end by stepping outside it.

And here the second difficulty arose. The monarchy in Britain is established and safe; indeed, the age of mass-communications has brought it a degree of popularity which would have seemed inconceivable even to the Victoria of the Jubilee. But for this very reason, it cannot afford to make mistakes. Royalty's only defence is to abide strictly by its own rules. The offender who transgresses finds himself, in the communal interest, hustled into private life. This was the bitter lesson Edward VIII had to learn. And when Margaret, finding an adolescent's affection for the gallant figure of Group Captain Townsend blossom into what she believed was a deep, mature passion, began to consider marriage, she came up against the same brutal choice.

Townsend had been a friend of George VI and was popular with more than one member of the Royal Family. But, being a divorced man, with a wife still living, there could be no question of his marrying a girl whose

You lift

lid



Bonnet lid, or boot? Boot!
Inside see spanner, jack. Old newspaper, gardening glove lurking.
Dead match, dead mouse, dead resolution. Alas.

Nobody looking . . . lift lid again. Click, whoosh. Why so light? Why so smooth firm easy?
Counterpoised. Contra-balanced. Cantilevered. Spring assisted.
When up, up. When down, down. When only half-way up, neither one nor tother.
Wilmot Breeden research. Clever.

Boots, boots, boots, boots, movin' up an' down again.

Be serious. When up, up. Kick, shout, bang with clenched fist . . . Stays up. Cardinal virtue.
When downing simple routine. Lift and lower (telescopic support).
Or press and lower (spring-loaded hingery). All types. All Wilmot Breeden. Click!

Some day, clear out boot. Must. Burn paper. Bury mouse. Meanwhile thank Wilmot Breeden smooth, light, easy, not chop fingers. Boot-supports. Boot locks, too. Bumpers. Door locks, mechanisms. Window winders. Wilmot Breeden. Radiator grille, maybe? May well be. Good.

Virtually every British car roads today some Wilmot Breeden components.
Oh, good. (Mem: bury mouse.)

Wilmot Breeden

Birmingham, London, Manchester, Bridgwater, Paris, Melbourne.

● *Reprints of previous advertisements in this series can be obtained upon request to Advertising Dept., Wilmot Breeden Ltd., 13-14 Oxford Street, Birmingham 5.*

public *persona* was directly linked to the head of the Established Church. Margaret could marry him, with the Queen's blessing and friendship; but she must renounce her constitutional rights and retire into private life.

During those anxious weeks, Margaret discovered that this price was too high. She might be a Mary rather than a Martha, frivolous, unconventional, daring even: but at heart she liked being royalty best of all. She was honest enough to admit this to herself and decide accordingly. Perhaps the sad spectre of her uncle – forever travelling from one Ritz to another, forever welcomed as guest of honour at international parties, but forever banned from the tight, slightly dated circle which he had once commanded – acted as a warning. Perhaps, too, Townsend's disastrous handling of his own publicity hinted to her that he was not quite the man he had seemed. At all events, when the moment came, she did not hesitate to tell the Archbishop to put away his books: she had made up her own mind, and her choice had fallen on position.

But then – what? The senior members of the family had been relieved to avert disaster; but now they feared to find themselves spectators at a lingering tragedy. The Princess was approaching 30, old indeed for the world's most eligible woman. Though her relations with the Queen remained friendly, they shared few acquaintances and their ways of life differed. Margaret was unpredictable, self-willed; perhaps she might harbour bitterness at the bluntness of the choice thrust upon her. Frankly, the palace was anxious to see her settled and safe.

Hence, when Mr Armstrong-Jones came along, he was judged with a leniency which, only a few years before, would have been unthinkable. He came of a much-divorced family; but at least he himself was free to marry. His profession was a little bizarre; but then, after all, the critics had long been demanding that royalty should mix. He was nice-mannered, charming, sincere; and the Royal Family has a pleasing habit of judging people at their face value. He was allowed to pass through the gate where the far more conventional Townsend was refused entry.

So the Princess, apparently, had triumphed. She had stepped outside the narrow circle and, at the same time, had retained her place in it. She was to become Mrs Armstrong-Jones – and remain royal. She had bridged two worlds. This, at any rate, was the hope when the engagement was first announced. Today, nobody is quite so sure. Under the relentless beam of publicity, unforeseen difficulties have been illuminated. There was the odd, undignified business of the best man. There were the chilly refusals of the continental royal families. There were those difficult Jones relations, popping up all over the place. The Palace, to put it bluntly, will be glad when the marriage is over. It has detected an element of risk, and the Palace does not like risks – it knows it cannot afford to.

Hence, when the Princess returns as Mrs Jones, she will find an imperceptible change in her position, a gradual shift in royal emphasis from herself to her cousin, Princess Alexandra. Her list of public engagements will not be quite so heavy as before. She will discover, in time, that the choice cannot after all be avoided, and that, in spurning the rules, she has at least half shut the door on the magical world which they alone can preserve.

The Voice of the Yob

ALL this talk about modern youth and flogging has me worried. Not about modern youth, but about the people who want to do the flogging. To judge from what some people say, you'd think every teenager spent his leisure hours coshing or carving up defenceless old women, just as you'd think every African or West Indian immigrant spent his time raping white girls. While colour prejudice seems to be on the decline, teenage prejudice is on the increase. No doubt it will end in a riot where thousands of middle-aged Tory women from every suburb will furiously attack a few bewildered teenagers in Soho or Brighton coffee bars, seriously maiming them with their handbags, umbrellas and cats-o'-nine-tails.

In my opinion, these would-be floggers have exactly the same mentality as the Notting Hill rioters and other crazy, mixed-up adults, who are insanely jealous at the sight of people who spend their spare time enjoying themselves. Teenagers and Africans are similar in many ways, they both can get a real kick out of life, even though they may be miserable beneath the surface. Frustrated suburbanites imagine all sorts of vices and sex orgies where none exist, and a hate campaign is on. For that is what the 'Bring-Back-the-Cat' bid is; and those responsible need the psychiatrists and reform schools far more than the most wayward teenager.

There may be a lot of juvenile crime, but it does not consist of attacking old women. There are occasional fights in coffee bars, but these are fights between teenagers; and old women have no say in the matter at all. At their worst, teenagers are rowdy, crude, foul-mouthed and fist-ready among each other, and every town has a few such individuals. But I wouldn't call them criminals. Fights usually develop from rowdy horseplay. For example two friends of mine once held a grip contest, each trying to crush the other's hand. It ended with one boy stubbing out his cigarette on the other's wrist, and a fight was on. No one was hurt except the two responsible, and a few days later they were the best of friends. A silly episode, granted, but not one of nation-wide concern. Police seem to go out of their way to pick on Africans or teenagers, and their intervention often has an embittering effect; but luckily none were around that night.

Flogging would be more embittering still. Even fights like that are rare, and are becoming rarer; for the Teddy Boy cult, with its bootlace tie and creepers, is at its last gasp. Nowadays every teenager would be insulted to be called a Ted; it's a word on a par with 'nigger.' A kinder word for the average cheerful, if a trifle rough, coffee bar layabout is 'yob,' which is on a par with 'spade.' The old type of teenager, grubby, uncouth and with a scruffy hair-do is being replaced by clean, natty, wide-awake types, as sharp and up-to-date as the toecaps of their Italian shoes.

Personally, the teenagers I dislike most are the ones who are sport-mad, or collect peculiar things, like stamps or bus tickets. These are usually sixth-formers or bank clerks, who are totally devoid of any intelligence except for exam passing or bank clerking, whatever that is. Many students also get me down, as they despise the main teenage crowd and think themselves so important, with their intellectual phrases they have learned parrot-wise. However, some of the most pleasant characters I know are genuinely intelligent sixth-formers or students, who knock around the coffee bars with the rest of the crowd, though these are very few.

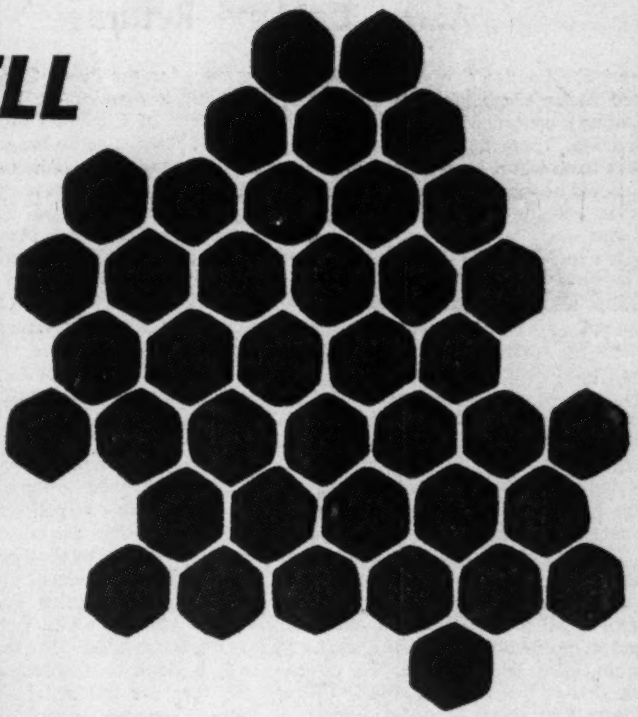
Violent teenage criminals are practically non-existent. Occasionally some slap-happy yob breaks into a house and gets caught, but that's about all. What always surprises me about crime is, if you move in the right (or wrong) circles, it's so open. The police seem to harry only the small-time crooks and teenagers, and in a teenage disturbance they have an unhappy genius for arresting the wrong people. Some teenagers peddle reefers or pornography, usually as a sideline, but these have been inspired or set up in business by adults. Altogether, so few are habitual lawbreakers that teenagers could serve as an example to the adults' world of greed, hypocrisy, perversion and crime. Much of their time is spent jiving or snogging, which to my mind are pleasant and completely innocuous ways of passing the time. They are not drinkers – you don't find teenage cliques in pubs as you do in coffee bars – and the only exception to this rule is at parties. They are emphatically against colour prejudice and resent all forms of hypocrisy; and one of their nicest traits is their total rejection of religion.

As to sex, all I can say is that some do and some don't; most don't. As for those that do – so what? Adults can't have a monopoly of everything. Teenagers, unlike beatniks, are not over-promiscuous and don't go with anyone handy but only with their steady; and that not with any regularity. Actually, adults are mostly responsible for the initial seduction of teenage girls. The girls who do have a sex life don't necessarily wait with it till they're 16; but as a modern girl of 13 is more mature than her grandmother was at 17, I don't see it matters. Girls start going on regular dates from 12 on, and boys from 14, though they've usually been sex conscious for some time before that. If TV really wants to show the world a sex orgy, it should film a beatnik party at its final stages. Beatniks, I must add, are nothing whatever to do with teenagers, being well up in their twenties and even more.

Properly approached, teenagers are not a problem at all; and the proper way to approach them is certainly not with a cat-o'-nine-tails in one hand and a birch in the other. They rightly despise the world the adults have made and have created a world of their own. The adults have now got hold of this world and are commercialising it to death. This commercialisation is getting a little out of hand, as I realised last night when when I ambled into my favourite coffee den and found there two boys of ten, dressed in tight jeans and shiny black leather jackets, knocking back their froffy coffee as coolly as yobs of 16. When I'm listening to Family Favourites, my aged grandmother rushes into the room and turns the volume up whenever she hears the golden voice of Cliff Richard. What's a poor teenager to do? Perhaps the ex-teenagers of the Fifties, now entering their twenties and getting responsibilities, will do something more constructive to change and reform the sordid adult world their forefathers have made.

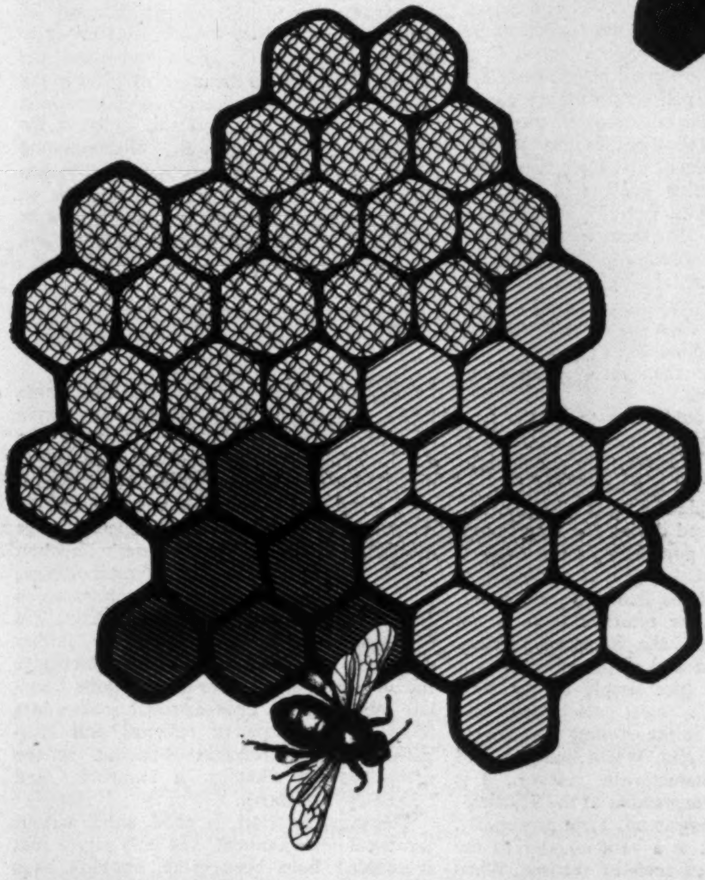
ROY KERRIDGE

The world of SHELL



THE MONEY THAT CAME IN

Proceeds from sales of oil and chemicals throughout the world, together with other receipts. **£2,631 million**



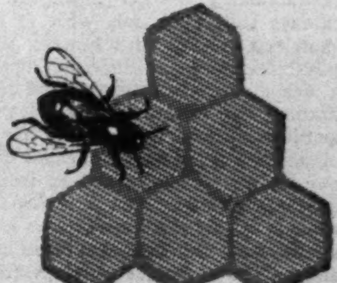
. . . AND WHERE IT WENT TO

▩	Operating and other expenses, including oil purchases, royalties paid to producer countries, equipment, materials, salaries and wages.	**£1,307 million**
▨	Taxes to governments.	**£861 million**
⬢	Capital expenditure and working capital.	**£396 million**
⬡	Distributed as dividends to shareholders.	**£67 million**

A YEAR'S FIGURES OF GREAT INDUSTRY The year 1959 was one of continued expansion of activity for the Royal Dutch/Shell Group of companies, which has upwards of half a million shareholders. Group net income for the year was £176 million, which represents a return of 9% on the £2,020 million total capital invested to earn this sum.

This is a summary, expressed in money terms, of the year's operations worldwide of the Royal Dutch/Shell Group of companies. Proceeds from sales of oil and chemicals throughout the world, together with other receipts, came to £2,631 million. About half, £1,307 million, was taken up by operating costs and other expenses, including oil purchases, royalties paid to producer countries, equipment, materials, salaries and wages. £861 million went in taxes to governments, wherever Group companies operate.

An amount of £396 million went to maintain the business and to provide the facilities to meet increasing demand. This is the measure of Group capital expenditure and working capital needs for the production, transport, manufacturing and marketing of oil and chemicals. Dividends distributed to shareholders amounted to £67 million.



. . . this was the world of SHELL in 1959

The Arts and Entertainment

Aaron Copland Returns

Last week the London Symphony Orchestra celebrated Aaron Copland's sixtieth birthday by presenting a concert of his works under his own direction. There are few contemporary composers from whose works a tolerable programme could be drawn, fewer still who could conduct as ably as Copland, and very few indeed who could attract such a large and enthusiastic audience. The size of the audience was a measure of Copland's public success, and perhaps also of the propaganda value of the gramophone. But the programme itself was interesting rather than representative of Copland's musical accomplishment.

Apart from *El Salon Mexico*, none of the works was well known, and only one, the short *Statements*, could be called mature. The two largest works on the programme, the Piano Concerto and the First Symphony, date from the mid-Twenties. The Concerto is unquestionably the feeblest of Copland's major pieces. The first of the two movements is an undistinguished blues somewhat reminiscent of the weakest of Gershwin's Piano Preludes. The second and more substantial movement is a kind of symphonic Charleston singularly lacking in ideas or invention. To criticise the jazz style of this music is pointless, since in the nature of things it could never have been intended as jazz. Such music can only adopt certain formulas of jazz, and the trouble with the Copland concerto is that it adopts them but never cares for them. Juvenile delinquency is rampant on every page of the second movement, leaving bad harmony, shoddy textures, and unmotivated forms.

The Concerto would not be worth discussing at all if it were not so conspicuously lacking in those qualities which elsewhere distinguish Copland's music – a scrupulous honesty and a rigorous attention to detail. These qualities are already apparent in the First Symphony, which despite certain lapses is a remarkable work for a composer in his mid-twenties, and well deserves an occasional performance. The Finale is at once the weakest and the most interesting movement, and suggests rather surprisingly that Copland may have influenced his fellow-Boulanger-pupil Roy Harris.

When one recalls the chaotic state of critical judgments in the Twenties, the clear-headedness of the Symphony seems especially noteworthy. Copland's greatest gift has been his extraordinary musical intelligence. He has always known precisely what to select, and how best to work on it, however slender its possibilities. This intelligence, supported by a high capacity for attentive and diligent application, has singled him out from his compatriots and made a Master of one who, I feel, has few of the natural creative qualifications for that role. Copland is, indeed, a master-jeweller, rather than a master-singer. Comparison of his early works with his late ones shows how little the scope of his art has expanded. The technique develops (though not very strikingly), the selection of material becomes more discriminating, but the nature of the sensibility and the range of response remains much the same.

In explaining why he soon gave up working with jazz material, Copland has said: 'All American music could not possibly be confined to two dominant moods – the blues and the snappy number'. That of course was the formula for the Piano Concerto. But fundamentally it remains the formula for a very great deal of Copland's music. For excellent musical reasons he exchanged 'blue' harmony for Stravinskian pandiatonicism, and jazz rhythm for a type of asymmetry derived from a few specific bars of *The Rite* and the Symphonies of Wind Instruments. But the music is still apt to fall into one or other of two typical manners, slow Copland or fast Copland, impressionist (ex-blues) or Stravinskian (ex-foxtrot). Not surprisingly, he often repeats himself.

In short, Copland's music tends to be over-formalised and yet under-characterised. It is thus very easy to imitate (the Copland epigones are legion) and very difficult to develop. As a highly self-critical artist, Copland must be well aware of the dangers. But his attempts to retrench creatively are apt to lack spontaneity, for his musical mentality lacks the purely intellectual stamina we find in, say, Roger Sessions. The high reputation of Copland's so-called intellectual works – the Variations, the Sextet, the Piano Quartet – is understandable, for their intentions are very laudable; but structurally and idiomatically they are less convincing than his more relaxed popular works (a category which should be wide enough to include the two Sonatas). The discipline of extreme compression exposes rather than resolves his compositional difficulties.

In general he would seem to be the type of artist for whom an external stimulus is likely to be more effective than a conscious act of introspection. It is no accident, I think, that whereas Copland's first 'intellectual' works were composed during the Depression, his most successful popular style was evolved in the first dawn of the New Deal. When, in 1953, he attempted his first full-scale opera, *The Tender Land*, he returned both to the time and the moods of the pioneering Thirties. That sense of cause and of the effortful progress of a people (not simply of the New Masses) found its most celebrated and moving expression in the opening and closing pages of *Billy the Kid*. Whilst being one of Copland's most characteristic gestures, it is also very much an expression of the Thirties.

Without pretending to any great profundity, this kind of music is a valid answer to the stuffier principles of socialist realism. When the response is blunted, it can lead to the threshold of bombast, as in parts of the Third Symphony. But when it is sharpened, it can produce something of real distinction. From the point where, so to speak, the individual is lost in the mass, the music reaches out to the point where the mass becomes one with the soil. These static meditations are Copland's most idiosyncratic achievement, for they isolate and make a virtue of an aspect of his technique which is disguised elsewhere by the (fictitious) rhythmic activity – namely, the lack of any extended harmonic or melodic flow. In laying bare the extremely slow rhythmic and harmonic development, this meditative music seems to aspire to the condition of silence. *The Tender Land*, the *Quiet City*, the Grover's Corner of *Our Town* – all are united in the time-free stillness of Copland's music. 'Silence is the universal refuge', wrote Thoreau at the end of his journey up the Merrimac, 'where no indignity can assail, no personality disturb us. The orator puts off his individuality, and is then most eloquent when most silent'.

For me the most eloquent passages in Copland lie here, in the spacious unpopulated quiet of the urban and pastoral works. The orator is silent. Inevitably the scene is prone to monotony, for it is devoid of real action. Even the opera is named after 'Nature, the gentlest mother', and the people in it are hardly more than a part of the landscape. Essentially it is a retreat, and the attempt to introduce an element of dramatic conflict rings very false, both humanly and musically. But *The Tender Land* has many beauties, and it deserves to be known by more than the rather unrepresentative suite conducted by Copland in a BBC concert last week. The opera is a counterpart to the song cycle on Twelve Poems of Emily Dickinson, the work which to my mind is most representative of Copland's talent. The temporal world of the Tender Land and the homely Eternity of Emily Dickinson are shown by this music to be almost identical. They are very small, the earth and the heaven depicted here; but in the curiously alienated sentimentality of the music they find great dignity. If the applause for Copland last week had any discriminating force, it was as a tribute to that – to the dignity which Copland's work has bestowed on a young musical culture. In a rough land he has built a road and made it very straight.

David Drew

West End is West End

It would be unfair to compare Santha Rama Rau's adaptation of *A Passage to India* (Comedy) with Forster's novel. It would also not be quite to the point. The piece stands on its own legs as drama or not at all. And it does stand. Miss Rama Rau has faithfully reduced the book to very competent stage mechanics to which Frank Hauser's direction has added a certain intense ominousness, thereby implying some of the overtones which can't be stated directly; as Dr Aziz, Zia Mohyeddin brilliantly catches the faintly despairing enthusiasm of the intelligent Indian whose intelligence doesn't quite translate into English, Enid Lorimer makes Mrs Moore a mountain of resigned and sympathetic sanity; Norman Wooland, as the competent Mr Fielding, is immensely and humanely competent.

The play, in short, is good, solid, serious theatrical entertainment. The only pity is that it couldn't have been more, couldn't have risen, in its own different way, to something of the novel's distinction. It doesn't, just as *The Aspern Papers* doesn't, and I wonder if the failure hasn't more to do with the modern theatre than with the adaptors. The audiences want to know where they are; they want the good to be good, the bad horrid and every motive simple, as though drama began and ended with the comedy of humours. The result is a curious element of caricature, almost of parody. When the play first came to Oxford Dilys Hamlett was criticised, I gather, for making Miss Quested too ambiguous a figure. So now she has turned her into a plain hysteric and everybody seems pleased. From her first tight-lipped entry she remains throughout just below screaming point. All her innocence, her fumbling, uncomprehending honesty and struggling tenderness are nowhere. She is simply a recognisable case, which may make the disaster inevitable but also makes the play distinctly monotonous.

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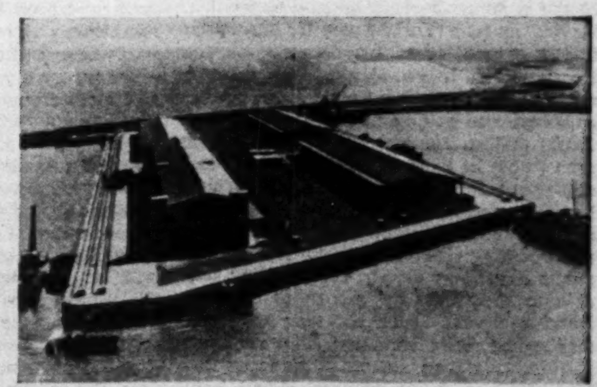

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Instead of 'the secret understanding of the heart' there is only the easy understanding of the part. It is the same with the representatives of the British Raj. In the novel, of course, they are an unpleasant bigoted lot; in the play, even making allowances for some poorish acting, they are merely stupid puppets.

You can't ask the play to equal the novel's air of sustained intelligence and discrimination; indeed, if it did it would probably be intolerable, for the closer Miss Rama Rau sticks to Forster's original talk, the more literary and undramatic the thing becomes. But you can, in all fairness, ask that the play be true enough to the book's originality not to reduce it to so many stage clichés. There are some excellent purely dramatic touches in *A Passage to India* – Godbole's song, the sense of impending disaster at the caves – but there are also long stretches when it seems exactly like every other competent West End play – give or take a few details of plot – and the most convincing act is, after all, just another trial scene.

The purveyors of American musicals are beginning, it seems, to believe their critics. They have been told so often that the musical is a genuine expression of popular American culture that they have started to pad the things out with 'serious' music. *The Most Happy Fella* (Coliseum) strikes me as full of attempted operatic stylishness, but with the volume turned up full to show it is still popular. Someone should have told Frank Loesser that an audience which wants bad Italian opera already has quite enough to choose from. Alas, nobody did, and his three-hour combination of sob-in-the-throat Italianism and the usual obsessional bonhomie is almost insufferable. The boredom was relieved by Libi Staiger and Jack DeLon who, because they are only comic relief, are allowed good songs. For the rest, he may be the most noisy fella but I'm hanged if I see what he has to be happy about.

A. ALVAREZ

Success Story

'FIVE years ago, even three years ago,' Mark Rothko told me, 'when somebody bought one of my paintings I could assume he liked it.' Staying in New York, I got the impression that it's been confusing for the Abstract Expressionists (those of the first wave, or some of them) to find they are selling their paintings, and selling many, at upwards of 10,000 dollars. Having money is still a surprise ('what he liked about the girl,' someone said about one of them, 'was that she made him buy dresses for her at eight hundred dollars a time'). Then they remember too well that not long ago their present avid patrons, public as well as private, were buying work akin to their own by French painters and ignoring theirs. Above all, they know that they're not really communicating with their patrons, that their success is hollow inside. They tend to doubt whether it will last – might almost be relieved if it didn't, and they were returned to their natural state.

Rothko in particular worries about the falseness of his situation. He was commissioned to paint a series of huge canvasses as murals for the Four Seasons Restaurant of the Seagram Building. He painted three series before he was satisfied (the last two are at least as fine as anything he has done) and then, when he saw the completed restaurant, in all its glossy glory for expensive people, he decided to withhold the paintings. 'It was a traumatic experience for me. I *wanted* to make a public statement; I was flattered by the opportunity to be a public man: I like people and crowds and city streets and the smell of bodies. But when I saw the restaurant I realised it wasn't public, it had nothing to do with people. I'd like to have seen the paintings hung in the automat; but they wouldn't want them there.'

In spite of everything, the established Abstract Expressionists have stood up surprisingly well to the pressure of money and fame, certainly by comparison with most of the suddenly successful continental and British painters of their generation. They haven't sold out as painters or as people. They use their money to buy what they want to buy, not to buy respectability. One of them has acquired a house on the upper East Side, but still wears second-hand clothes passed on by a friend. Another ordered fourteen suits last year but hasn't a big apartment or a car. Another buys Thunderbirds but otherwise lives just as before. All of them have got themselves bigger studios. Money is a means to pleasure and to functioning better as artists: they haven't used it to try and gain a certain social position. One can't imagine them hankering after invitations to smart parties.

I don't think the explanation is necessarily that they're of a finer moral fibre than their European counterparts: there are obvious social and economic explanations for their lack of interest in climbing. To enumerate only a few. New York just is not lousy with class-consciousness. A rise in social status depends above all on having servants, and at New York prices even successful artists, once they've paid their taxes, can't afford these. New York social life is much more divided into professional compartments than that of London or Paris; writers, painters, politicians, dons, intermingle less, so that painters are so used to spending their time with painters that they would have to break the habits of a lifetime to circulate in other worlds. The painters of the group in question feel a particularly strong loyalty to one another because of the poverty they went through together till middle age. They may not see one another as often as they did, but they still see far more of one another than rival successful artists do in England or France. Most of them still spend hours at the Cedar Tavern, a downtown bar whose entire packed clientele has consisted for some years of artists and their molls (the molls are mostly less pretty than those of London and Paris artists, which suggests that art still hasn't acquired as much snob value there as it has in Europe).

What is most remarkable is that these now well-known and wealthy figures will still sometimes turn up at a meeting of the artists' club, 'The Club', which gathers once a week for a talk or a discussion, with audiences up to 200: how often do you see an established artist among the audience of culture-vultures at the ICA? Everyone knows that The Club has declined since its halcyon days ten years ago. But they're still ready to be interested.

This is one symptom of the New York artist's freedom from the London affectation that it's *infra dig* to talk about art, that the only really permissible topic of conversation is the behaviour and motives of one's friends. On the other hand, London artists, when they do let themselves go about art, tend to be more articulate and subtle about it.

DAVID SYLVESTER

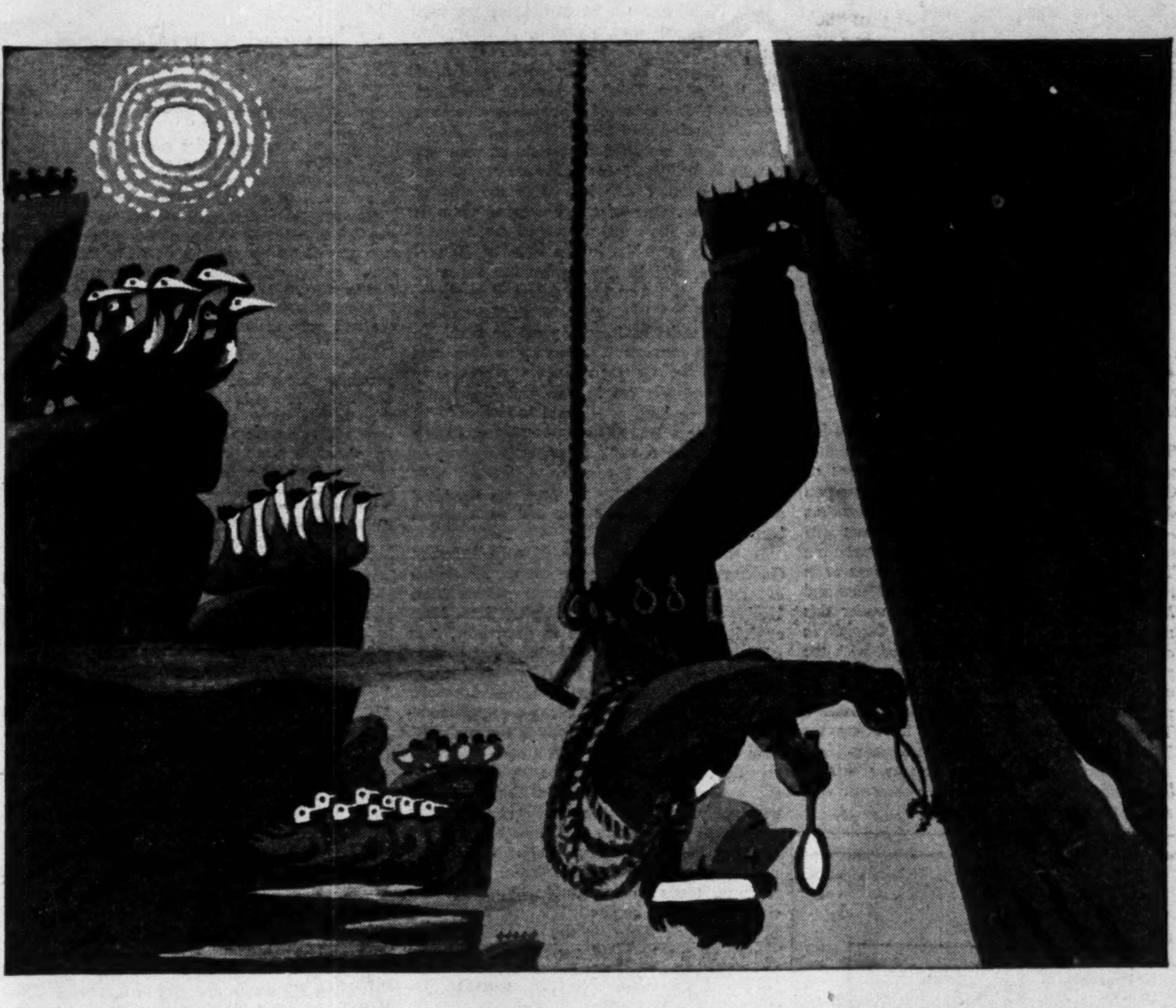
(To be concluded)

Private Views

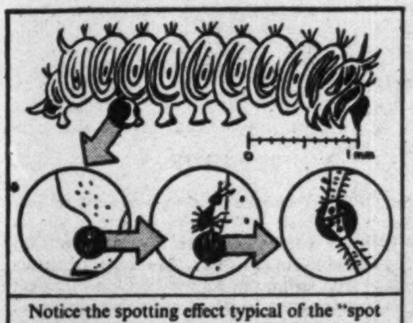
FROM Lear to Giselle, we have seen insanity feigned, and have been more or less moved according to the degree of talent. We have seen newspaper pictures or newsreels of people threatening to jump from high buildings – but usually in some far-off place. It has taken such programmes as the BBC's *Lifeline* and ITV's *Searchlight* to bring remote and abstract (and hitherto horrifying) problems home to us in the persons of real people who are or have been alcoholics or schizophrenics or homosexuals or syphilitics; and what is most startling to most of us, in some of these encounters, is that these people do not seem sinister and 'different' but quite 'normal' . . . It *can* happen here, in our street, in our family.

Monday night's *Lifeline* and *Searchlight* (overlapping, maddeningly, by ten minutes) illustrated this well: they were devoted, respectively, to hallucinations and delusions, and to suicide. Nobody could have been homelier than Dr Stafford-Clark's second subject in *Lifeline* – anyone's favourite auntie, going out to domestic work (and as such an obvious 'treasure') . . . *But*, each evening at six, as she left work, a monkey jumped on her back and rode her for a certain distance: 'of course I knew it was a monkey – I could *see* it, all wild and woolly – I could feel its tail hanging right down me back . . .' Then there was the baldish liftman, amiably commonplace to look at, who had seen three angels when he was ill: '. . . all in white . . . they more or less told me I was going to get better . . . yes, they were dead solid.' As Dr Stafford-Clark put it, 'disturbance of contact with reality can happen to perfectly ordinary people.' Slightly more fey was the young woman with the immobile face and the voice of a languid deb: she had seen the Devil (sometimes disguised as a buzzing fly) and also, when motoring with her parents (who were 'somewhat surprised'), a blindfold motor-cyclist who shot at their car as she passed. ('I thought we must have died . . . but then when we got home to Hampstead I realised we hadn't, because life went on as usual.') But even she might have been the girl next door, if you lived in the best part of NW3. She said the whole experience had been 'like living on another plane – like something out of Dostoevsky . . . or that film, what was it, *Orphée*.' What cured her? Well, 'electro-convulsive therapy . . . and taking pills, of course'; and then, when God had spoken to her, in 'an abstract type of voice' and had told her to leave hospital, but the doctor had persuaded her to stay, and she got better, she had realised that her revelation was hallucinatory. What of Lourdes, and St Francis? Dr Stafford-Clark left the question open.

Searchlight did not leave open the question of the law which makes felons of suicides and would-bes: it came down heavily for the reform advocated by doctors, magistrates, and churchmen. There are 14 successful suicides a day in Britain: an unsuccessful suicide is 'more often a gesture – a cry for help – than a real intention to die'. Suicides are fewer in crowded working-class districts: 'you need privacy to kill yourself.' One-third of the voluntary workers for Telephone Samaritans (Mansion House 9000, Liverpool Maritime 1999, Edinburgh Caledonian 3333) are ex-clients. Again, the statistics were illuminated by actual cases – a clerk, for instance, who only a few weeks ago tried to throw himself under a bus in Bishopsgate.



Nature Watching in SCHWEPPSHIRE



Notice the spotting effect typical of the "spot effect" of the spot, in the "granulated sugar" or unreproductive phase. These spots, of no distinctive colour, are not concentric round any one point, and their edges are "only very slightly raised" (Kipps and Kermody).

No. 3 ECOLOGY WATCHING. It is a mistake to believe that naturalists do not like Nature, or appreciate the general scene. On the contrary general-scene study is part of the recognition of the plant-animal network, the factual evidence of the cross-relations between sub-soil and super-soil, the fauna of flora, and the counterbalance of interdependent ecological aggregates into one symbiotically definable affinity i.e. there is a link.

In this typical cliff-head community or "nasty drop" situation (seen here in the Outer Schwebrides) the naturalist realises from the typical bird-weed arrangement that what he is actually looking at will actually in fact be there. Except for the four birds simply standing on top (a-typical and not in fact supposed to be there), each species is definitely related to its niche; and just when we start unconsciously looking out for one of the trumpet noses there it is—a pigeon-breasted gullbeak, rare visitor from Nova Schwemlya, obviously very near the end of its range. All this is precisely where one would expect to find what in fact the Watcher is now watching: evidence of "baws" or joint rot on the false knee of the parasite which infests the fourth segment of the caterpillar of the Tingle Fern.

Written by Stephen Potter; designed by George Him

SCHWEPPERVESCENCE LASTS THE WHOLE DRINK THROUGH

Some may argue that such programmes pander to idle, morbid curiosity: they make us *voyeurs*, prying into our neighbours' secret fears and shames. This is an obvious risk. Everything depends on the straightforwardness and seriousness with which the programmes are presented. When they are in the hands of people like David Stafford-Clark, Brian Inglis, and Elaine Grand, it seems to me that the risk is greatly outweighed by the value of what can be, at its best, a nationwide experiment in social therapy.

TOM DRIBERG

Adult Cinema

THE drought has come early. 'Oh for a film!' one gasps, as the dull repetitions float by. A British drama of civil aviation . . .

Window-shopping I scoured *What's On* for films I'd enjoyed and a possible one I hadn't seen, and paused over the advertisement of Gala, spread over two pages. Gala, in case you don't know, now controls some eight cinemas in the London area, including La Continentale, Berkeley, and the new International Film Theatre, which opened with *Hiroshima Mon Amour* and now runs *Come Back Africa* and *Night and Fog*. At other houses under this management can be seen *The Wild One, Stain on the Snow, Razzia sur la Chnouf*, with the promise of Luis Bunuel's *Swamp of Lust* to come. Obviously, then, quality looms in their programmes. But there are strings attached. To see some of these films, including the Bunuel, one must join the Adult Cinema Club. And Adult Cinema may mean two things: adult cinema, and films far from adult with a sadistic or salacious trend.

Gala Films seem to be combining the two very artfully, so that, glancing at their list, one can't easily tell which film belongs to which category. Is 'the authentic record of *The Nuremberg Trial*' of genuine historical interest? Is *Joyhouse of Yokohama* a serious film as was *Street of Shame* which, thanks to its title and a nudist first feature, ran six months in Oxford Street? One can't say. The under-the-counter lure is patent; the quality may surprise. One of the boasts of Gala is that all their films are shown in the original uncut versions. This, in the case of Bunuel or Resnais, will be pure gain; but some of the others may well have deserved slashing. The dichotomy, you see, runs all through. Is this commercial artfulness good or bad? So far as I am concerned, it gets by so long as it keeps off the Censor's fingers where they shouldn't meddle (as in Resnais' *Night and Fog*), and so long as – amid sensations – it can promise a Bunuel première. Its incidence is hardly wide enough to affect filmgoing in general, although I can see that those who would pin their faith in growing minority movements may resent this one as a mixed blessing.

In the current run *Who Was That Lady?* (Leicester Square) brings some American expertness in farce: American rather than Hollywood, since a stage play has been exploited here, possibly to its detriment. It is still amusing, with Tony Curtis as a malingering husband plunged by his friend who writes TV plays (Dean Martin) into domestic charades that involve his being a secret member of the FBI. Welcome too is the real FBI man (James Whitmore) with a soft heart and an ulcer. Janet Leigh as the wife completes this cat's-cradling quartet; and the thing only gets out of hand with a third act of foreign agents and a climax in the boiler room of the Empire State Building, which our heroes mistake for a submarine. This, after 118 minutes, tends to exhaustion. Much of the timing has been inspired. It's only a question of how much more, in the way of intricate absurdity, can be piled on; and how the free hand has been clumsy.

WILLIAM WHITEBAIT

IN
KERRY
LONG-AGO
JOHN O'DONOGHUE

The story
of an Irish childhood

16s

B·A·T·S·F·O·R·D

Theatre Royal de la Monnaie, at Sadler's Wells

Last week's ballet at Sadler's Wells should be considered an experiment, for even its boring and its irritating are in a good cause. Maurice Béjart, the French director, choreographer and *premier danseur* of the company is full of ideas. That his ballets are not altogether successful is because he is trying too hard to give us something new. The *musique concrète* of his long, symbolic ballet *Orphée* would seem all right in theory; but in fact the composers have not shown enough sympathy with the rhythmic requirements of dancing. The indeterminate shape of this music diffused the whole effect. Yet the whole work is pretty complete in its formlessness: the spasmodically acrobatic movement, the puritanically colourless sets are of the same breed. It is certainly an interesting period piece.

The French style of dancing in this company has great fascination. It is so severe yet effortless. The girls are always standing on one leg and stretching the other straight up in the air. They dance in patterns that are splayed and tall like pylons. Their fault is that they tend to ape the men's more positive characteristics. But these male dancers are worth aping, they are so gay and vital, so graceful and controlled: in this country male dancers generally seem to be copying the girls in their attempt to be soft and elegant. I believe that if Sadler's Wells could stick to this policy of presenting experimental companies, it would regain a faithful audience.

A. F.

Correspondence

THE MARCH

SIR, – As a Liberal I am not often in agreement with your editorial policy, wherefore I am the more delighted to be in agreement with you this week as an Aldermaston marcher.

However, in your arguments against the independent British deterrent, you only give publicity to a part of the marchers' case. While the march itself, and many of the Campaign's arguments, receive very wide publicity, the central political arguments against the whole policy of deterrents are still very scantily reported in the national press.

Two of these arguments seem to me to be of particular importance. The first is that a nuclear deterrent does not in fact meet the main existing threats. You cannot use a nuclear bomb to prevent a Communist victory in elections, nor to prevent that most indefinable of methods of advance 'indirect aggression'. Nor is it often argued that nuclear bombs should be used to meet small scale invasions; nobody suggested using a nuclear bomb to defend Tibet, and Admiral Radford's suggestion that it should be used at Dien Bien Phu was generally recognised as disproportionate. So long as the Communists are able to practice these methods with success, and above all so long as they are able to pose as the party of 'peace' against 'imperialist warmongers', it is hard to see why they should wish to mount that full-scale offensive which is the only thing nuclear bombs could be supposed to deter.

The only reason for a full-scale nuclear attack against us would be a Russian belief that we meant to make such an attack ourselves. For it is the military uniqueness of nuclear weapons that no adequate defence can be made against them once they are launched, and so the only possible 'defence' consists in bombing the other side's bases before they are used. Thus it would appear that the whole policy of rocket bases and deterrents, so far from meeting an existing danger, is merely creating a new one.

While a decision to abandon the independent British deterrent would be greeted with delight, the Labour Party cannot count on the massive support of the Aldermaston marchers until it renounces the whole structure of deterrents. The complexion of the Aldermaston march suggests that if it did so, it might recover that representative support which it had in 1945, and has not had since. I do not suggest that the Labour Party should play with life and death for the sake of winning votes, but the thought of electoral advantage might encourage those party leaders who are 'well known to hold certain views in private'.

CONRAD RUSSELL

Merton College
Oxford

KASHMIR

SIR, – May I be permitted to comment on one major point, 'Joint-Defence', mentioned in Kingsley Martin's article, based on his interview with the President of Pakistan? The idea of joint-defence with India, put forward by the President of Pakistan, seems to be an attractive proposal, but, after careful scrutiny, it ceases to be so, as joint-defence would not be an asset from India's point of view. It would mean abandoning her independent foreign policy and involving India in Pakistan's quarrels with Afghanistan and the Arab countries. Moreover, it might bring an actual rupture of the traditional friendly relations with other neutral Asian countries, such as Egypt and Indonesia. Furthermore, it is obvious that India might have to go as far as to support Pakistan's allies, like Persia, whose feudal, aristocratic government may be overthrown by the discontented elements of the Persian people. There is, however, a further point to be considered, and it is the greatest objection;

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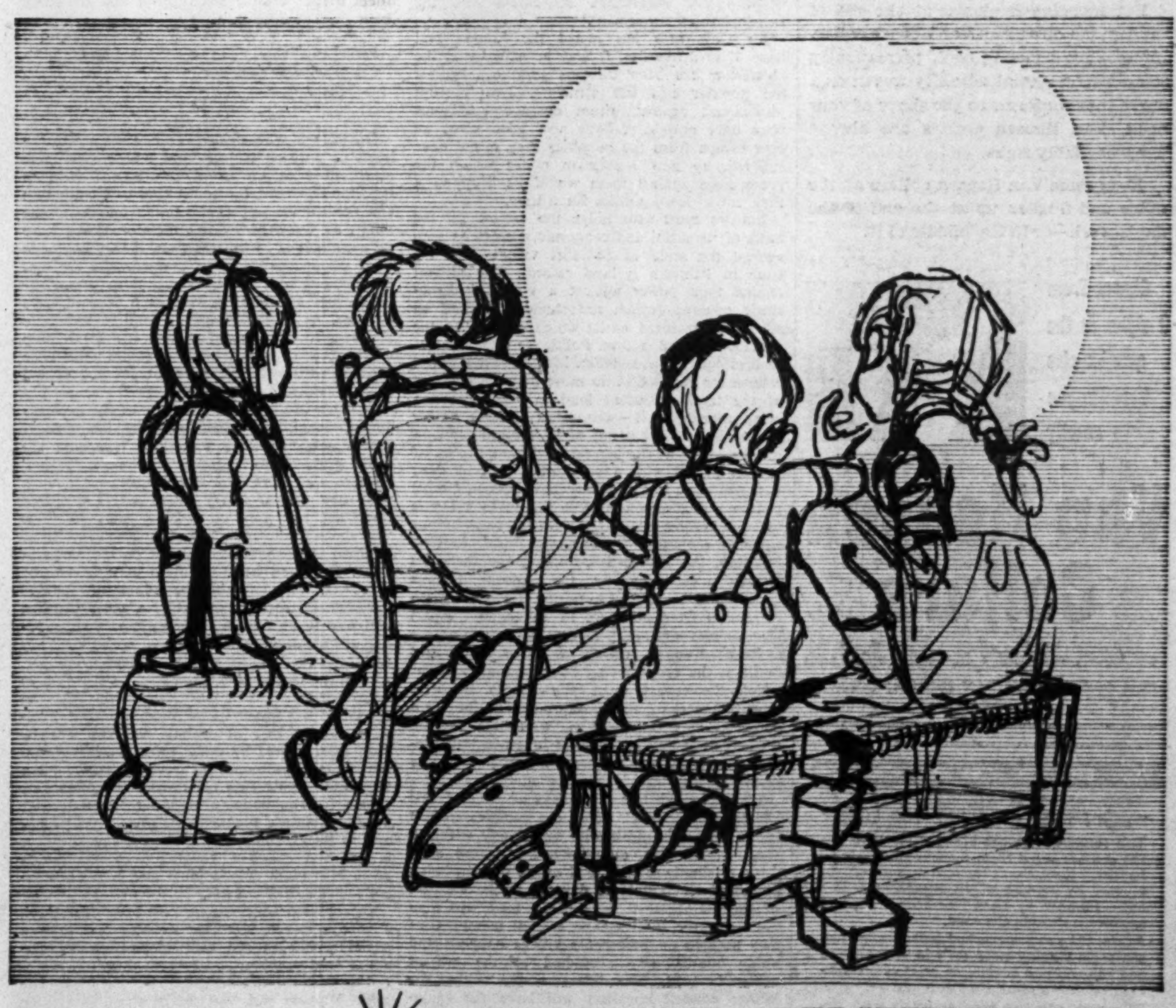

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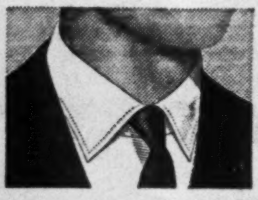

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it might mean heavy financial costs which would inevitably fall on the shoulders of India. As the financial contribution to the joint defence would depend on the number of divisions provided by each country, naturally India would have to bear the lion's share because of her population and her larger numerical contribution. In emphasising these negative reasons, one does appreciate the sincerity and honesty of the Pakistan President when making this offer. At any rate the Indian Army is capable of fighting and defending her borders from the Chinese expansionists, for it does not lack valour, pugnacious spirit and the morale or manpower.

SHER SINGH

54 Priory Road
NW6

DICTATORSHIP IN PAKISTAN

SIR, – Kingsley Martin's report on the dictatorship in Pakistan comes as a bitter disappointment to Pakistani liberals and Socialists – not the least because of the high regard in which he and the NEW STATESMAN have always been held by us and the bonds of common purpose between our democratic movement and the British Labour movement.

Mr Chesworth has raised the fundamental issue of civil liberties. It may be added that the repression has been directed primarily against the popular and left elements. The 'corrupt politicians', against whom demagogic slogans were once necessary, have now been given an easy escape from the penalties they might have suffered, by new legislation under which the proceedings against them would be dropped if they 'retire' from politics for a time.

But we must also judge the regime on the basis of its social and economic policies as seen against the scale of Socialist values. The big issue in Pakistan is land reform. The present regime took power against a powerful democratic upsurge (which unfortunately lacked an adequate organised basis) which centred on the demand for land reform. Politically a measure of land reform was inevitable. In the event a bogus reform has resulted in no more than 1.6 per cent of the total cultivated land in West Pakistan being affected by it – thousands of acres, as Mr Martin has said, but out of 85 million acres. A small number of the biggest landowners have, of course, parted with a substantial part of their vast holdings. For this they have received most generous compensation. But the main thing is that the reform has left the feudal basis of our agrarian economy virtually unchanged. In East Pakistan, the regime is reversing the measures already undertaken by the Awami League government in 1958 by raising the ceiling on ownership from 30 acres to 100 acres. Apart from an extraordinarily high ceiling which allows a landlord to be master of 50 to 100 tenant families, the crop-sharing basis continues under which the tenant must pay legally half (in practice more) of his *gross* produce to the landowner. This leaves him with neither the resources nor any incentive to invest in improvements or even the proper maintenance of the land.

There is much talk these days of the so-called 'Basic Democracies'. This is a complex subject which cannot be dealt with adequately within a short space. But, essentially, the system boils down to simply this: instead of the peasant being permitted to participate directly in the election of the members of parliament, they will now elect only the local village council members, as they used to do before the village councils and union boards were abolished by the present regime in 1958. The difference now is that the village council members will have the exclusive right of franchise for election to the national parliament. It has been our experience that, within the confines of the village society, the peasants are unable to put up against the landowners their own men to participate in sustained and organised political activity, such as is involved in the membership of local bodies. The men elected are invariably the landowners or their nominees. (The Indian government's survey of *Panchayats* show that 90 per cent of the members and 98 per cent of the presidents of the *Panchayats*, i.e. village councils, are rich landowners of high caste.) The peasants were, however, able and willing to take advantage of a progressive leadership offered to them from the towns in the organisation of their unions and in the national elections. This bond will be broken under the new system by the introduction of indirect elections; leaving the peasant at the mercy of the village landlords. For the new regime this will mean an organised relation with the landowners and a basis of power that reaches down into every village – a basis far more stable and firm than the unpredictable support of those who happen at any given moment to control the armed forces.

The reactionary basis of the regime is reflected in all its policies – its extremely regressive budgets and its second five-year plan which turns its back on industrialisation without offering any real prospects of agricultural development in the absence of land reform.

It will take some time yet before the weak and suppressed democratic movement in Pakistan is revitalised. In the meantime it does look up to its friends abroad for support and solidarity in its present difficulties.

HAMZA ALAVI
Editor

Pakistan Today
2 Rockwell Gardens
SE19

Kingsley Martin writes: True, I am not in the habit of praising dictatorships and I shall have much more to say about this one. I went to Pakistan expecting the usual kind of dictatorship and formed the impression (a) that some of the things so far done by this dictator would have been applauded by 'progressives' if they had been done by a democratic government and (b) that the dictator, who had so far killed no one, exercised his absolute power with comparative decency. As to civil liberty, I thought that little had been lost in comparison with the dictatorship of the few corrupt feudal magnates who were running what was called democracy last time I was in Pakistan.

Further, in the lamentable case of the *Pakistan Times*, which was taken over by the state, I noted that even here something less than the usual brutality was shown. Also some 'leftists' I knew, who were imprisoned under democracy, were now out of jail. I added that I was told that there were now no political prisoners. This was an odd statement. The Pakistan definition of political imprisonment will not be the same as mine. But even here a certain care has to be exercised. The case of the editor of *Hilal-e-Pakistan*, quoted last week by a correspondent and said to be typical, clearly needs more careful examination. The Pakistan authorities say categorically that the editor of *Hilal-e-Pakistan*, who was arrested and sentenced to six months imprisonment, was in fact discharged after an appeal to the Martial Law Administrator. Similarly, the editors of *Ittefaq* and the *Eastern Examiner*, quoted by other correspondents, were not in fact imprisoned, but were discharged when they apologised. This fits exactly the picture as I saw it. The country is under 'martial law'; most writers are silent; some 'subversive' people are, as I said, compulsorily retired, and the press is dull and obedient. Judging from this week's news of a more drastic press law, it is not considered obedient enough.

In reply to other issues raised by Mr Alavi, I should myself say that nothing less than a social revolution can deal properly with Pakistan's land problem and I agree that it is essential to keep the democratic movement alive. The point I made was that useful steps have been taken to deprive the landlords, who were making a farce of democracy, of some of their property and of more of their power. There remains, of course, the long distance problem of all dictatorships throughout history, of how you get rid of them when, as usually happens quite quickly, they have served what may be for the moment a useful purpose. – Ed. NS.

THE DISPOSSESSED

Sir, – Jacquetta Hawkes has her facts remarkably straight in her article on the Australian Aborigines. Until the 1950's Australians of all states were quite unaffected by the case of the small native population. This inhibited the early liberal-minded champions, and determined the governments' policies to segregate, out of sight, aborigines into reserves. The school history books all said we were the only dominion not conquered by bloodshed and that was why we did not know what destruction our grandfathers had done.

Now welfare associations are organised in cities and many country towns in all eastern states, and in Perth, Western Australia, bent on wiping out the social disparity of the coloured people by prepared social action. The strongest associations, 11 in number, formed the Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement in 1958, and enjoy the support of both trade unions and missionary bodies. Every state is represented except Tasmania and Northern Territory. Acting from its Melbourne, Victoria, headquarters, the Federal Council compares the constitutional differences of state policies, and works out a consistent native affairs policy. Despair is giving way to hope: at the recent third conference of the Federal Council, Aborigines themselves took an active part.

The Queensland Aborigines' Protection Act is one of the most repressive of the contemporary Acts. The NSW Act, also called the Aborigines' Protection Act, allows more freedom to the aborigine to develop his life: like any child, he may only be taken away from a neglectful mother, he goes to a normal school (Primary and sometimes Secondary) with white children, he can be apprenticed, marries whom and where he likes, faces a normal court procedure if he takes to crime, his mail is *not* censored, and he works off the reserve for pay, in most trades at full award rates.

The legislation in NSW restricts the movements and responsibilities of those who live on stations (i.e. government reserves managed by a white official) or reserves (i.e. Crown land supervised by the local police sergeant). In theory these people cannot help themselves. Only by board permission may any white person enter a station or reserve, or consort with aborigines. No one may leave a reserve either unless the manager knows, and we heard of cases where aborigines visiting sick relatives were told by the sergeant to return home 'in three days, or else.' A policeman, or a board officer, has the right to enter any home on a reserve and inspect it.

All Aboriginal land belonging to the Crown, as in all the states, few people of Aboriginal blood own land, so that encroachment on reserves restricts where they are to live. The only alternative to another reserve for a wandering Aborigine is to call on a relative in the city (and following an old tradition he is never sent away by relatives).

Social discrimination is chronic and endemic in NSW, as in the other states. To those Australians old enough to regard the white Australia policy as a background rather than an intellectual argument, Aborigines ought not to be there. Moreover, in NSW there are 32 settlements, or unauthorized shanty camps, with a total population of 2,300, living in shocking conditions, where diseases like roundworm or hookworm may be quite prevalent. Here they live quite freely, out of the Board's control; but there is no doubt that the civilised white Australians regard them with strong distaste.

Leadership is no easy lesson for a people who throughout Australia had no chiefs, and very few of whom are self-employed. Those who have battled from one casual job to the next for years, distrustful of all whites, mostly have not the stomach for more resistance. But a beginning has been made with those who have a background of trade union affairs, or Christian pastoral leadership. Perhaps the best result of the four co-operatives now operating (one each in Queensland, NSW, South Australia, and West Australia) is the adult education they afford, for from this leaders will come.

J. Horner
Hon. Secretary
Aboriginal-Australian Fellowship
(NSW)

THE AFRICAN TRAGEDY

Sir, – In my article, The African Tragedy, I stated that the 'so-called anti-Nationalist English language press' had outdone the pro-Nationalist Afrikaans press in suppressing facts and comments – particularly in relation to the actual Sharpeville shooting – and that, later, 'with the crisis moving to its climax' the English press 'muffled its own voice'. Mr M. M. Carlin has seen fit to question these statements (NS 16 April). He writes 'It may be that my own evidence (one Sunday newspaper and a cutting) is not much to go on.' I am afraid he is right.

The probable reason for his receiving the very scanty material he did is that it was atypical. And even then it seems to me not to contradict my report. The moving description of the Sharpeville wounded in hospital describes the wounds, not the circumstances in which they were received. Yet at that time Bishop Reeves had given, first to the overseas press and then to the South African, the information, gathered from the wounded, which I reported. Except for one very brief and blatantly distorted version, the English press did not touch this story until its Afrikaans contemporaries did. Even then, the only paper to give a fair summary was *Die Vaderland*, a pro-Nationalist Johannesburg afternoon daily. And no paper other than *Contact*, the liberal fortnightly, has published the sole eye-witness report of the shooting.

Moreover, the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* description of the wounded in hospital was the only piece of its kind to be published in the English press controlled by the Argus group and SA Associated Newspapers, which have a near monopoly in the daily and Sunday white field. I can state categorically that the graphic picture of the wounded at Sharpeville, with which every British newspaper reader must be familiar, was suppressed in Johannesburg and elsewhere in the Union. The only papers to publish it were *Golden City Post*, a Sunday paper produced for non-whites and, indirectly, *Dagbreek en Sondagnuus*, an Afrikaans Sunday paper, which reproduced a *montage* of the front pages of British papers after Sharpeville. The suppressed photograph was thus seen in full mainly by non-whites and, in small, by readers of the Afrikaans press.

Mr Carlin accuses me of being 'rather melodramatic and very misleading' in saying that 'no newspaper dared publish' Chief Luthuli's call for the burning of the passes. The fact that, even before the present state of emergency, such publication was likely to 'constitute an offence' does not invalidate my statement, and Mr Carlin may like to know that the Congress-line weekly *New Age* (since suppressed) and the liberal fortnightly did later publish Luthuli's call.

To 'muffle' one's voice does not mean 'complete silence'. With a few minor and honourable exceptions, the device used by the English-language papers after Sharpeville was initially to give great prominence to overseas comment – and to muffle their own. Any overseas correspondent who has been in South Africa these past weeks will confirm to what a remarkable degree even the factual reporting of police action has been consistently played down by the English-language press. To quote only one example. When the police beat up Africans indiscriminately in the streets of Cape Town, *The Star*, which Mr Carlin rightly quotes with approval for a courageous (but isolated) leader, found it possible to report this police error under the heading 'Loafers get Short Shrift'.

I could go on *ad nauseum*, but I trust that these instances convince Mr Carlin how unwise he was to judge on too little evidence.

James Fairbairn
Johannesburg

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Health Service Under Scrutiny

THE progress of a community cannot always be traced in the wording of its statutes, but if texts are to be sought for the welfare state none is clearer than the statement of intention in the first section of the National Health Service Act, 1946, and this is the basis for any evaluation of the service or estimate of its prospects. It gives the Minister of Health the duty of establishing 'a comprehensive health service designed to secure improvement in the physical and mental health of the people . . . and the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of illness', such service to be free of charge.

The simplicity of this aim should not obscure the magnitude of the task. It was not just a matter of extending or reshaping an existing structure, but of creating something new. Although there was some provision for health care before 1946, what existed was incomplete, undirected and socially unjust in its incidence on the community. Although almost a century had passed since the first public health legislation, the state still accepted responsibility for only minimum services. It possessed no hospitals and concerned itself only with medical provision for the minority. Local authorities were responsible for essential sanitation and in taking over poor law functions had acquired some hospitals, which they ran with variable success.

Lack of central direction and the existence of uncontrolled voluntary hospitals made it impossible to establish reasonable hospital provision on a national scale. Such health services as existed were, therefore, unfitted to serve the essential needs of the nation. Their financial basis was a mixture of taxation, rates, insurance, voluntary contributions, endowments, charity and charges. The high level of payment by the individual, whatever his means, was the measure of the extent to which this hotchpotch of facilities fell short of being a social service.

Nostalgia for the exciting post-war years of reform can endow those years with a magnitude of achievement they did not always possess. It would be a delusion to suppose that the inception of the National Health Service was the solution to all these defects. Even as originally projected, it contained many gaps, and some were widened by compromises made by Mr Bevan as the bill went through parliament. The 1946 Act did, however, create the possibility of an intelligible public service, sufficiently comprehensive to provide for the essential health requirements of every man, woman and child regardless of capacity to pay. Moreover, it embodied sufficient central control to ensure the equitable spread of resources and was financed mainly from the product of taxation. This in the main ensured the greatest contribution from those best able to make it. Of the social services developed by the Labour government this was the most grounded in Socialism.

It has become the practice to examine publicly-owned enterprises to ascertain whether they effectively combine efficient working with economy in operation. Such inquiry is never easy, but with the Health Service it has peculiar difficulties. There is no question of showing a profit or producing a favourable balance sheet. Results cannot be measured in increased units of production. Is the criterion the number of people the service prevents from being ill? Or the length of occupancy of hospital beds or frequency of visits to the doctor? Clearly any would be misleading, since none is a guide to the quality of treatment. Yet some assessment must be attempted, because year by year the service is subjected to arbitrary judgments which, with a political climate set against social reform, could lead to curtailment of facilities, extension of double standards and finally abandonment of a comprehensive service based on universal availability.

The first question is whether a fully comprehensive service is possible, and, if so, whether it is a reasonable charge on the nation. The Labour government set out by answering affirmatively on both counts. Subsequent governments have not denied the proposition, but their acts have not unequivocally supported it. Original flaws included the failure to link curative and preventive services, to establish occupational health services, to provide standards to measure the efficiency of general practice, to ensure effective control of the supply of drugs and medicines, and to eliminate the possibility of two standards of treatment within the service itself. Soon after its inception economic difficulties caused the abandonment of all but the most limited experiment in health centres and the drastic curtailment of hospital building. Even in the circumstances of the time it was arguable that too low a social priority was being given to health.

The Erosion of the Service

What now gives cause for alarm, however, is that in supposedly better times the balance has not been redressed. Instead of being extended the scope of the service has been curtailed. Charges have been introduced and extended, not for luxuries but for essential requirements like medicines and dental treatment. The National Insurance contribution to the service has been increased, and local authority health functions have fallen within the scope of the block grant. Although recently more money has been made available for hospital development, it is still far from commensurate with the need created by 20 years of virtual standstill at a time of rapid improvement in medical techniques. It is not unduly darkening the picture to say that the health service has not participated in the growth of national prosperity. The fear is that as in the past it may be among the first victims of a recession or, what is perhaps more probable, a drive to reduce public expenditure.

The 1946 Act created a unified hospital and specialist service, extended free medical and dental care to everybody, gave free access to medicines and appliances, and made the major local authorities responsible for personal and environmental health provision.

To achieve this there is much complex administrative machinery. Regional hospital boards plan and co-ordinate hospital and consultant services, and hospital management committees administer hospital groups at local level. Executive councils provide general practitioner medical and dental services and are responsible for the provision of drugs and medicines. Local health authorities provide for maternity and child welfare, domiciliary midwifery, health visiting, home nursing, domestic help and ambulances. Over this network of authorities the Ministry of Health exercises central direction and control. There is participation at local level of board and committee members, but this is essentially a state service with the Ministry holding effective power, subject to the overriding financial say of the Treasury.

The service has found widespread acceptance by the community. Middle-class people who might have been expected to cling tenaciously to private medicine entered it without delay, making a good deal of nonsense of the threats which are made from time to time of the withdrawal of the doctors if their claims are not met. Acceptance has not, however, carried with it full understanding of the advantages and limitations of the service. Its wide scope and administrative complexity have throughout proved obstacles to maximum participation. The individual in present day society feels little enough link with his elected local authority, and none at all with more remote bodies such as hospital management committees and executive councils. Proneness to accept second best becomes a habit when one does not know fully what one's rights are, or where to complain.

In terms of its capacity to establish close contact with the patient the health service has not been successful. There are still many people who will put off a visit to the doctor because they feel they will not get personal treatment, let alone the cordiality of welcome found in other professional relations. Too many avoid hospital treatment because they fear regimentation or enforced conformity to a hospital regime which they think will not take account of their human dignity and individual tastes. Others prefer self-medication to long waits in the out-patient department because the appointments system has broken down.

The results are twofold. Those with the means to do so increasingly opt out and seek private treatment. Of those who stay in, some denigrate the service and look back to a golden age which in fact never existed except for the fortunate minority. Thus we have the conception of the kindly family doctor, guide and philosopher to his patients from cradle to grave, and omniscient in medicine as well. He is not quite a myth, but how many of the population have actually encountered him? The shortcomings of general practice in the Health Service should not encourage the belief that all was well before. There was chronic maldistribution of doctors, and the 'panel' system extended only to lower-paid workers, and then not to their families; so that the doctor's bill, or the fear of it, was a reality for every household. General practice was also on a business footing, with practices and their patients bought and sold at will.

The Health Service has removed some of the grosser abuses of general practice and provided machinery, which on the whole has worked, for ensuring the more even distribution of doctors. Otherwise disappointingly little has been achieved. General practice has become increasingly general. The average doctor has not the time, incentive or facilities to specialise in even a secondary way. His contact with the hospitals is slight and at best informal, so that in any but the simplest of cases he loses sight of his patient at the critical stage of treatment. His place of work is often makeshift – a room in his home or a lock-up shop – and his equipment barely adequate. His relation with his patients is impersonal.

It is unfortunate that the Willink committee on medical manpower was apparently so well satisfied with this state of affairs that it considered there were enough doctors to meet reasonable needs, and that from next year the intake of medical students could be reduced by a tenth. Part of the trouble with general practice is the number of patients on the doctors' lists, and until this is reduced there will be little improvement in the standard of service. In the various investigations into medical practice which have taken place too little has been said about standards. The recent Royal Commission recommended that half a million pounds a year be set aside for merit payments, but gave no indication of how merit could be determined. Other inquiries have been concerned with pay, costs, recruitment and administration, but none has dealt with the quality of practice or the relations between doctor and patient.

A Salaried Service?

Smaller lists are part of the solution, with 1,500 patients as a reasonable aim. But much more than that needs to be done. While the first objective is to give the doctor more time to deal properly with his patients, he will not gain much advantage from this unless he has also the right knowledge, equipment and attitude. This raises issues going to the root of general practice as at present organised. To most doctors the suggestion of a salaried service operating from health centres is an outrage, and it would certainly be resisted by all the considerable forces the profession can deploy. For this reason, perhaps, it is a proposition little canvassed by those concerned with immediate practical possibilities. This does not relieve the serious critic of the duty of examining it.

It is a subject full of misconception and humbug. The main argument used against the general practitioner's being paid directly by the state by salary, instead of indirectly by capitation fee, is that it would destroy the doctor-patient relation and expose the doctor to having his judgment affected by considerations other than clinical. In fact, there is no such thing as a real doctor-patient relation in the present system. It is as impersonal and remote as it could be. As to the view that salaried employment is inconsistent with professional integrity, it is enough to say that this casts a sorry reflection upon the many doctors already in such employment, including hospital consultants, local authority doctors and the paid assistants employed by general practitioners themselves. Advocates of a salaried service are sometimes accused of being doctrinaire. Certainly, like nationalisation, it is not an end in itself but a means to an end. There is no merit in direct payment as against capitation or fee for service, unless it can be shown that it brings real benefit to care and treatment.

Apart from giving each doctor a manageable number of patients there are three main requirements for a well-organised system of general practice. There must be a means of setting and enforcing reasonable standards of treatment; there must be full co-operation between doctors; and there must be a direct link between general practice and the rest of the Health Service. Under the present system the doctor is subject to no check on how he runs his practice, unless he is guilty of conduct calling for the attention of the disciplinary machinery of his profession or the executive council. He may practise how or where he likes, have as little or as much equipment as he chooses, and provide whatever facilities he wishes for his patients. The sanctions available to deal with demonstrably bad work are difficult to invoke and in any case not concerned with general standards of practice. This does not mean that the profession is full of black sheep, but it is surely not right that a public service should still be run on private *entrepreneur* lines. Is there anything repugnant to good professional practice in making a body of public servants answerable for the standard of their work to a higher authority drawn from their own ranks?

A system of inspection to maintain standards is not incompatible with the capitation method of payment, but is easier in a directly paid service. The other two requirements are more difficult to achieve without it. The capitation system is inherently competitive, and does not facilitate ready co-operation between doctors. It also adds to the difficulty of interchange between general practice and the hospitals and inevitably operates as a powerful influence in keeping the general practitioner in professional blinkers. It is likely to be a long time before these views commend themselves to most doctors; but general medical practice will not fulfil itself until it is fully integrated in the service as a whole, and no longer a compromise between a public service and a body of private professional men going their own haphazard ways.

Some of the problems of general practice would be solved by health centres on the lines envisaged in the 1946 Act. Every local health authority was required to provide health centres for the provision of medical, dental and pharmaceutical services, for the organisation of local authority health services, and for the publication of information on questions relating to health and disease. Before this could be done, economic difficulties caused the government to instruct local authorities not to go ahead with them. This was virtually the end of the idea. Priority was given to other projects, and rethinking supervened. A few centres of varying size and range of facilities have been started, and the results are encouraging. But here again the invincible individualism of the general practitioner has been a stumbling block. He prefers, apparently, to practice in makeshift quarters rather than in suites designed for the purpose, with all the resources of pooled equipment, co-operation with colleagues, contact with other members of the health team and secretarial assistance.

The growth of group practice is sometimes instanced as a substitute for the health centre. Whilst some group practices are successful in bringing about a pooling of resources, they are few in number and at best are still an aggregation of individual doctors rather than an organised health team working in co-operation with the local health authority and the hospitals.

Changes in the status and working conditions of the general practitioner are not the whole answer. His attitude towards the patient must also be changed. No profession is so characterised by humbug and aloofness. Few patients in the Health Service ever feel they are treated on the footing of equality by their doctor; and, until this is changed, general practice will not yield full value. It is unfortunate that most doctors do in fact seem to regard themselves as superior to their patients, and it is inescapable that medicine is the last profession in which class barriers have been broken down. There is more than one reason for this. Apart from the long period of training, which is a strain on any working-class family, the method of selection of medical students still appears to take undue account of family background and the 'right' sort of education. The fault is not only in selection. Clinical training may be excellent in the medical schools, but it does not yet turn out doctors well grounded in social medicine and the functioning of the Health Service.

These judgments may seem harsh, but they summarise the experience of countless patients. Doctors sometimes criticise their patients for making unreasonable demands and taking unfair advantage of the service. They would find they had less to criticise if they went about the job in a spirit of partnership and co-operation, giving and seeking more information in a mood of friendly interest. There has just been a Royal Commission on doctors' pay, which was a convenient expedient to get the government out of a difficult situation. What is much more needed is a full investigation into general practice, with the investigators drawn from the widest cross-section of the population.

The greater part of the £600m a year spent on the Health Service goes to the hospitals, and it is here that the greatest changes have taken place. The principle adopted was to plan hospital services over large areas not coinciding with local authority boundaries; and for this purpose 14 regional hospital boards were established for England and Wales and five for Scotland. For management purposes hospitals were grouped with the object, except in the case of special hospitals, of providing for a locality all the resources of a well-equipped, large general hospital providing the full range of specialist services.

In contrast to general medical practice there was no compromise with the past. Hos-

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pitals with different traditions, some rooted in the voluntary system and some in the poor law, were rapidly integrated under the new authorities, and, with the development of higher standards of professional administration, became units well equipped to provide the comprehensive range of treatment required under the National Health Service. The main difficulty has been finance. Hospital building has been affected by every fluctuation in the national economy, and it is only now, 12 years after the service began, that construction is proceeding at any pace. In a generation Britain had only one completely new hospital. Within limited resources much was done to adapt and extend, but insufficient to keep pace with need.

Revolution in Mental Health

The group principle enabled the hospital service to cope successfully with changes in the pattern and incidence of illness. Former infectious diseases hospitals and TB sanatoria have been converted to other uses in a way which would not have been possible if they had remained isolated units subject to no central plan. But the biggest problem lies ahead. The recent mental health legislation has completed a revolution in mental treatment which will not be realised in practice until the hospital building programme catches up with it.

Much public attention was rightly drawn to aspects of the new mental health legislation which gave ground for misgiving that there were insufficient safeguards for the freedom of the individual. This tended to obscure the very real progress which has been made. It is now accepted that mental illness is not something apart from other forms of ill health and subject even to some sort of stigma. Consequently the aim is to integrate provision for such treatment fully with other services. The psychiatric ward and clinic will replace the old mental hospital. Unfortunately this will not happen until sufficient new accommodation can be provided.

Even if there had not been a change in attitude there would have been a big enough problem. Most mental hospitals are enormous places sited away from centres of population in buildings erected well back in the last century. The difficulties of adaptation have always been enormous, and because of their situation they have been the worst victims in times of staff shortage. Their size and location usually made it impossible for them to be grouped with other hospitals, so that even under the Health Service they remained apart from the main stream of development, though not as much so as they had been. It is clear that the work of those who have pressed for mental health reform is not finished. They now have to ask for the physical means of completing the job.

Another problem for the hospital service is the position of the teaching hospitals. They were given a unique status under the 1946 Act. They were not made subject to the planning authority of the regional boards and retained control of their own endowments, whereas those of other hospitals went into a central pool for allocation over the service as a whole. Among the reasons given for this special treatment were the need for close links with the medical schools and the necessity for teaching establishments to be able to select cases appropriate for training purposes. It has also been said that there need to be pace-makers in the service where the highest possible standards can be developed as an example to the rest. None of these considerations appears to apply in Scotland, where the teaching hospitals are under the regional boards.

Whatever the justification, the system has had the effect of introducing two levels of treatment within the service. Staff are more attracted to the teaching hospitals, particularly nursing and medical auxiliary staff, where some of the same snob values which have been seen to operate in the case of general medical practice find undue weight. Two years ago disquiet was caused by the work of three members of the Social Medicine Unit of the Medical Research Council, who showed statistically that in three common surgical operations the patient had a substantially better chance of survival if he had his operation in a teaching hospital. Costing figures show that the teaching hospitals have the best of it over the range of hospital facilities. There have also been occasions when the planning functions of the teaching hospitals have cut across those of the regional boards, a recent case being the re-siting of the Charing Cross Hospital at Fulham.

Within the hospitals there has been change. The establishment is more complex, with many functions once centralised in the matron now assigned to professional officers – catering managers, laundry managers, domestic superintendents and trained administrators. Medical auxiliaries are more numerous, and would be more so with better pay and prospects. Almoners were leading beneficiaries of the Health Service, being released from the distasteful duty of assessment of patients' means to do their proper job of medical social work. The hospital has become a considerable community within itself.

Hospitals and the Public

Outside there are still difficulties in relations with the public. Although hospital authorities are manned by local people serving voluntarily they rarely seem to have the sense of 'belonging' in the community they serve. Open days have been tried and annual reports are often presented with a view to catching public interest, but results have been disappointing. Perhaps one reason is that so many hospitals receive patients' visitors with an aspect of suppressed resentment, giving them the minimum of guidance and the maximum of discouragement. Visiting hours still conform too strictly to the hospital regime and not enough to the convenience of the patient and his family. Where unrestricted visiting has been tried it appears to have worked. If it were more widely extended there might be less public indifference. Less patients might also hanker after the greater freedom in visiting which is one of the advantages of a private bed.

Although the hospital service has made progress under the National Health Service it still has many problems. They can be summarised as the two different but vital needs of greater physical and financial resources. and the achievement of better human relations with patient and public.

The third leg in the Health Service is provided by the local authorities. County and county borough councils are local health authorities, and are responsible for a range of functions which can be grouped under the heading of environmental and preventive health. One of their most important functions, the establishment of health centres, has remained a dead letter. The effect of this on general medical practice has been discussed. It has been unfortunate for local health services because it has deprived them of a central point of operation and to that extent has made them less personal. The other functions are the care of mothers and young children, midwifery, health visiting, home nursing, vaccination and immunisation, ambulance services, prevention and after-care, and domestic health.

Contest with Other Services

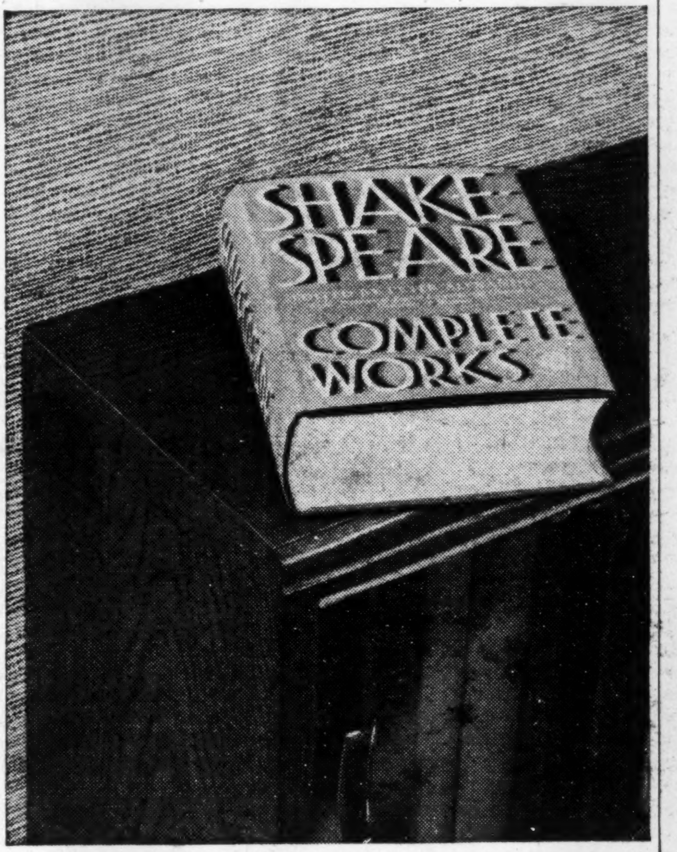
The importance of the local authority services is that they are the link between curative and preventive action, and also between health and the other social services which are connected with health, and which include housing, welfare services, care of old people and education. It is for this reason that the local authority field provides the greatest immediate opportunity for expansion. The 1946 Act placed major emphasis on curative services, which was understandable in the light of the lack of facilities previously available. Therefore many functions properly belonging to the health service are not its responsibility. These include school medical and dental care, sanitation and food hygiene, and such factory health arrangements as exist. There is no good reason why these should not be brought within the framework of the service. An occupational health service to provide for the needs of the citizen at work is a necessity recognised by the Labour Party in its health policy statement of last year, and this also would be operated by the local health authority.

New responsibilities have recently been placed on local authorities by the transfer from the hospitals of the care of mental patients no longer needing continuous medical or nursing care. The block-grant system has unfortunately prevented a specific financial allocation being made to get these services going, and here again new thinking on mental health is not easily going to be translated into reality because of lack of adequate financial backing.

It is obvious that improvements of the kind which have been advocated will cost money. If the extension of charges is rejected, as it must be, the Health Service will require a larger share of national resources than the £600m it now takes annually. As it is, the Minister has to go to parliament each year with a supplementary estimate, the current one being £23,600,000, mainly for hospital revenue and pharmaceutical services.

This is not a popular doctrine to get over, even in times of financial buoyancy and optimism. The service has always been a target for attack by the cut-public-spending lobby. In the early days it was free wigs and cotton wool; then alleged armies of clerks; then abuse by patients of medical facilities. There has always been a reason for cutting down, and the reason at any particular time has never stood up to detailed examination. The Guillebaud Report on the cost of the service, published in 1956, disposed of many of these arguments and showed that expressed as a proportion of total national resources the current net cost of the service had fallen from 3¾ per cent in 1949-50 to 3¼ per cent in 1953-54. The conclusion was that any charge of widespread extravagance in the National Health Service, whether in spending money or using manpower, was not borne out. Although the actual cost of the service has since risen the findings of the Guillebaud Committee still hold good.

This statement needs one qualification. The cost of prescriptions has continued to rise out



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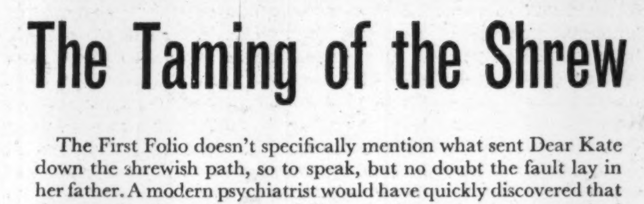

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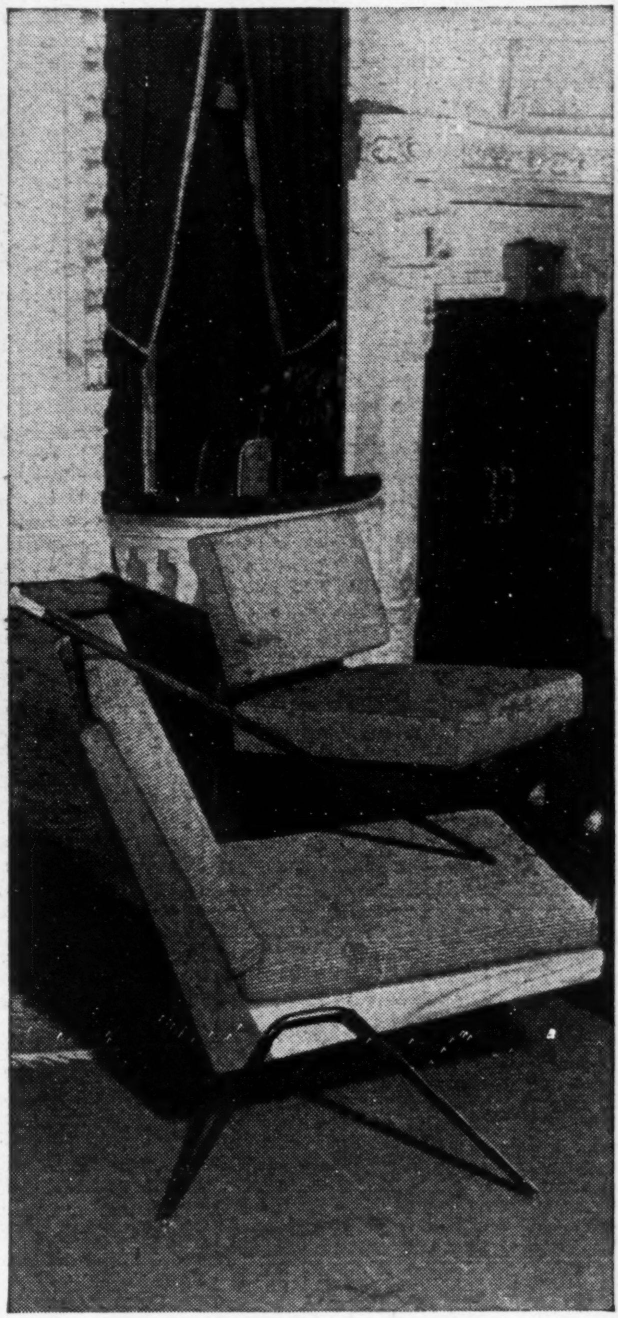

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of proportion to other facilities. This year the figure is £66m in round figures, and the average cost of each prescription is 6s. 10d. The rate of growth can be seen when it is stated that in 1949 the total cost was £34m and the cost per prescription 3s. 1d.

This situation has caused concern, but no solution has been found. The Hinchcliffe Committee on the Cost of Prescribing failed to produce one. While acquitting the doctors of irresponsibility, it found that many prescribed well-advertised proprietary brands because they had no time to search their lists for cheaper preparations. It did not add that under the present competitive system doctors are susceptible to pressures from patients who demand such brands. High-pressure advertising, confusion about trade names and ignorance of the cost of proprietary medicines are obvious reasons for over-prescription, and what in fact happens is that the public, through the Health Service, unwittingly finances the extravagant promotional methods of the privately-owned drug trade.

The Hinchcliffe Committee finally threw up the sponge when it said that unless the public were to be deprived of the advantages of progress in medical science brought about by the development of new drugs, the total cost of the drug bill was bound to rise. It is true that new methods of treatment resulting from pharmaceutical research have caused some conditions to be treated at home which were previously hospital cases, but this does not acquit the service of responsibility for over-prescribing. It is consistent with the service's blind side on preventive medicine that such research has been left largely to private firms, making the advantage to the service itself indirect, fortuitous and expensive. The possible public ownership or control of the drug industry is not a subject which falls within the scope of this study, but it is clearly relevant to the problem of the rising cost of the service.

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The imposition of prescription, appliances and dental charges was an attempt to curb expenditure. The object was not to recover the full economic cost, but to give patients an incentive to use the service prudently by attaching a direct cash value to certain items of treatment. It was unfortunate in two ways. First, although the prescription charges may not have amounted to much the charges for dental treatment and appliances were considerable. Probably nobody goes without a necessary prescription for the sake of avoiding a shilling payment, but many put off a visit to the dentist when the cost is a pound. Therefore conservative treatment suffers.

The second respect in which charges were retrogressive was that their imposition vitiated the fundamental principle of a comprehensive health service without direct payment. Once the door was unfastened it could be pushed open more widely, and this proved to be the case. Without recrimination, it must be said that if the Labour Party has the opportunity of honouring its pledge to remove the charges, it will be able to redeem the disservice it did when it imposed them in a moment of panic in 1951. It is now clear that many more insidious causes than patients' extravagance have led to the rocketing of the drug bill.

It has been seen that with some deficiencies and a bias towards curative treatment the National Health Service set out to make provision for the basic necessities of health care. In doing this it did not exclude the possibility of the patient obtaining better facilities upon payment. Provision was made for private beds in hospitals. Consultants and general practitioners participating in the health service were not excluded from private practice. A higher standard of appliance could be obtained upon extra payment.

This means that there have always been two standards of service. The ethical basis of such a position is assailable, because public and private treatment cannot be divorced, and the National Health Service in effect subsidises private practice and participation. Private occupancy of a hospital bed means that a case of more urgent necessity may be excluded. Time given to a doctors' private patients may deprive his Health Service patients of the attention they need. Nor can the financial basis be completely divided, and even the high cost of private treatment does not reflect its full economic value.

The position also arises where a patient going to a doctor for private treatment obtains an unfair advantage at the hospital without going to the expense of a pay bed. Hospital workers are widely aware of the queue-jumping which takes place, and how a bed is more easily obtained in such circumstances. It is not suggested that this happens with emergency cases, nor is the patient requiring a long course of treatment without any particular urgency likely to be at a disadvantage if he is a Health Service patient. But abuse exists with the intermediate range of patients, where immediate treatment is desirable, and where a wait for a bed may lead to aggravation of the complaint and a longer recovery. No possibility of dealing with this problem exists as long as private and public facilities are interwoven.

Is there a justification for private practice? It is sometimes argued that some patients, because of the nature of their work, find it impossible to fit in with the ordinary routine of Health Service treatment, with its inevitable delays and other minor inconveniences. It is argued that in such cases private treatment is inevitable. This is all right as long as such facilities do not prejudice the treatment of the Health Service patient. Since this cannot easily be achieved, it may be asked whether it would not be better to abolish private practice but to provide for special facilities within the Health Service for those who can show that their occupations would otherwise be prejudiced. But when thought is given to a code of practice to cover this the problem becomes insuperable. The result could only be two standards of service entirely at the public expense, with even greater possibility of abuse than exists at present.

Freedom to Choose

Since ours is a free society there must continue to be freedom of choice in health treatment as in other matters, but it is surely not unreasonable to say that as far as possible those exercising it should pay the full cost. This view exposes the unreality of the present agitation for private patients to be allowed Health Service drugs free of charge. It is more logical to say that a patient going it alone should go the whole way alone, and be responsible for the full cost of hospital treatment as well as medical care. This is not the case at present. In fact, the cost of recourse to private facilities must be such that it is only obtained by those willing to stand by the full implications of their choice.

It was remarked earlier that most people came into the service. The position of health in this respect has differed strikingly from that of education. The middle classes have found it more acceptable to go to a Health Service doctor or dentist than to send their children to state schools. This has been as much an advantage to the development of the service as it has been a disadvantage to the development of public education. It will be a great misfortune if access to private practice is made so easy as to restore the position where there is one standard of treatment for the better off and another for the rest. The Health Service has not so far had a class basis, and this must not be allowed to happen.

Although attention has been drawn to its manifest defects, the National Health Service has served the nation well. Year by year the chief medical officer of the Ministry of Health is able to report striking progress in the treatment of disease. Medical and hospital facilities are more evenly distributed over the population and, with some exceptions, have shown notable improvements in quantity and quality. Over a wide range of care there is no barrier to anybody, whatever his position in society, obtaining treatment of the highest standard. If the results achieved by the service could be expressed in the form of a balance sheet it would be the envy of the other public enterprises.

Health is, in fact, a major public undertaking. It affects everyone. It takes a good deal of public money, and employs over 400,000 people in its work. The Health Service is, therefore, of supreme importance to the people of Great Britain, and worth their interest and vigilance. It can be expanded until it is the fully comprehensive service its founders intended, or it can be narrowed until only a limited range of facilities is available without additional payment. We must shortly decide.

BOOKS IN GENERAL

Pontificator In Chief

How much power can a great editor exert in British politics? And how is that power most effectively applied – from inside or from outside? Who counts for most, a Top Person in the confidence of the political leadership and running a journal of opinion, or an outsider, with a mass circulation large enough to rouse public opinion and scare the politicians into changing their minds? Implicit in this question is a long-standing, ill-tempered dispute not only between journalists and politicians but between serious and popular editors – a dispute which is never resolved, chiefly owing to lack of reliable evidence. For, in order to be sure of the influence Michael Foot exerted through *Tribune* during the Bevanite split, or of the role Geoffrey Dawson played at *The Times* during the years of appeasement, we must not only study the newspaper files and relate them to Hansard; we must have access to the inmost thoughts of the politicians at the moment when they made their decisions. Only when we know those thoughts can we discover whether the brilliant editorial made up the leader's mind or merely reflected a decision already taken. Alas, there are few episodes in British politics about which such information has been published.

How fortunate, therefore, that the Trustees of the *Observer* should have persuaded Miss Viola Garvin to make available to them all her father's private papers. The historian who can collate these papers, first with the unpublished Astor papers and then with the unpublished Beaverbrook papers, at once obtains a new and incredibly detailed insight into the role of the press in what must have been the most spectacular and disorderly period of modern British politics. Gambling on American scholarship, the *Observer* Trustees have given this unique opportunity not to an Englishman but to Mr A. M. Gollin of the University of California*. At first I was startled by the author's apparent naivety about certain aspects of British politics. But when I had read his book to the end I found I had come to appreciate the dead-pan irony and irreverent humour which lurk behind his heavy academic style. Here at last is a detailed, authentic account of exactly how J. L. Garvin, in six miraculous years, created the *Observer*, with Northcliffe as his first and Astor as his second proprietor. Here, even more fascinating, is the secret story of the relationship between Garvin and the Conservative leaders in the period throughout which it has been generally supposed that he was dictating Tory policy. Incidentally, we are given a new and very surprising version of the role of Lord Beaverbrook in these troubled years. Altogether this is an outstanding study which must surely become a classic.

Garvin was never a newspaper man – or even an editor – in our modern sense of the word. When Northcliffe bought the *Observer* for him, it was a tiny journal, read by fewer than 5,000; at the height of his fame, four years later, its circulation had only just topped 60,000. In a fascinating chapter, Mr Gollin reveals how little Garvin bothered about news. He paid his main foreign correspondent in Paris three guineas a week and his chief foreign sub £1 11s. 6d. Even the art critic only got £3 5s. 0d. Moreover, the great Editor only came into the office on Saturdays. In the rest of the week he was at first writing leaders for the *Daily Telegraph* and later editing an evening paper, the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Indeed, his only real job was to write the great three-decker editorials and edit the 'Notes of the Week' on the same page. Thus, when the rest of Fleet Street was swinging from 'views' to 'news', Garvin reversed the process and made the *Observer* famous as the organ of, and the background for, his own pontifications.

Like many other 'great' public men, Garvin owed a great deal to luck. In his very first issue he was able, thanks to an Admiralty leak, to forecast the controversial Naval Estimates of 1908. The leaky official was, of course, the First Sea Lord, Sir John Fisher, who for more than a year continued, week by week, in his own sprawling handwriting, to supply Garvin with all the top secret information necessary for the war against his Departmental rival, Sir Charles Beresford. Anti-German and devotee of Joe Chamberlain's Imperialism, Garvin was willing enough to become Fisher's henchman in a lying intrigue, designed to commit the Liberal Government to complete eight new Dreadnoughts, while the Chancellor budgeted for only four. Anyone who wants to understand the politics of Blue Streak and the misfortunes of Duncan Sandys should study these chapters, which prove conclusively that the deadliest and dirtiest fighters in British politics have always been the Service Chiefs.

Eighteen months later Garvin had a second superlative stroke of luck. On the 30 July, 1909, Lloyd George's Limehouse speech aroused such enthusiasm for the Budget and such hatred of the Peers that it nearly broke Tory morale. Next Sunday the *Observer* rallied the Opposition by a rousing demand for an outright rejection of the Budget. At the time it was rumoured that Garvin had made up Balfour's mind. We now know that he was acting in his new role of Balfour's henchman, which he retained until they quarrelled and finally parted in March 1911. For nearly two years, Garvin received from the Leader of the Opposition, via his private secretary, J. S. Sandars, an almost daily deluge of leaks, which would make the present political correspondent of the *Observer* green with envy. Indeed, what strikes me in this part of the story is how closely sealed the lips of modern Cabinets and Shadow Cabinets are, compared with their pre-1914 predecessors. In those days only a few favoured editors counted – for the simple reason that each of them was improperly given the 'inside' stories which enabled him to speak with authority. Until he broke with Northcliffe and Balfour, Garvin was one of the chosen few. Not unnaturally, the Liberal press, in order to discredit the Tory politicians, created the legend of the Editor of the *Observer* as the real power behind the scenes. But Mr Gollin shows that, although Balfour received much advice from the great Editor, he was rarely influenced by it. Garvin was a Thunderer in public and a thundering bore in private. Though Tory politicians liked the help of his leading articles, they soon found the price of taking him seriously and listening to his advice too heavy to bear.

By the spring of 1911 Garvin had quarrelled with Northcliffe about food taxes and with Balfour over his refusal to support the resistance of the diehard Peers to the Parliament Act. With extraordinary tolerance, Northcliffe permitted Garvin to keep the *Observer* if he could find another backer. Within a fortnight, the Astors had volunteered their money and influence – and the *Observer* entered its third phase. From the summer of 1911 until the outbreak of the war, Garvin tried to play party politics not from the inside, as a henchman, but from the outside, as an independent force. He failed ignominiously. Though the myth that he was dictating Tory policy was sedulously maintained by the Liberals, he had begun that career as a '*bombinator in vacuo*' which was only to conclude with his death. All his campaigns failed. When Balfour resigned the Conservative leadership, Garvin backed Austen Chamberlain; but Beaverbrook's candidate, Bonar Law, was elected. Wrongly, Garvin assumed that the new leader was a reliable Tariff Reformer. But within a year Bonar Law had dropped the food ta[illegible] and the great editor had not even been warned in advance. So Garvin became the wildest of the 'wild men', the mentor of the diehards, the advocate of disruption in Parliament and civil war in Ulster. Only the German invasion of Belgium saved him from his extremism and enabled him once again to pontificate in the national interest.

Mr Gollin rightly concludes that the influence of the *Observer* depended upon its editorials. But he goes on to observe:

> The Editor depended upon the co-operation of the politicians; if his articles were to dominate the political scene he required a knowledge of secret plans and intentions which only the politicians could provide . . . 'Orating in a vacancy' was a fruitless and futile activity for the Press. Journalism of the kind Garvin specialised in could succeed only when it worked in harmony with the men who controlled the course of political affairs . . . Garvin's forceful style was often so extravagant in tone that it exposed the paper to mockery unless the lavish exhortations or suggestions contained in the articles were made valid by subsequent political developments . . . that demonstrated to his rivals that despite his

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effusiveness Garvin was also the master of the hard realities of any political situation.

Garvin's good fortune, and with it the revival of the three-decker editorial, did not last long. After three miraculous years the mastery provided by the authoritative leak was denied him. Thenceforward his influence diminished as his megalomania increased. By the time I met him, he was a poor old figure of fun.

R. H. S. CROSSMAN

REASSESSMENT

Tawney and the Values of Society

By ASA BRIGGS

(Asa Briggs is Professor of Modern History at the University of Leeds)

THERE are few titles of history books more immediately familiar than *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.* The words fall easily from the lips; they ring with public and private associations; by themselves they suggest a synthesis of two kinds of history; they can even be juggled with to provide new prophetic syntheses. *Religion and the Decline of Capitalism* has already been written.

Since 1922, when R. H. Tawney first delivered the Holland Memorial Lectures with the far less alluring and memorable title of *Religious Thought on Social Questions in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* contemporary assessments of the ultimate prospects of both religion and capitalism have zig-zagged up and down, like—and sometimes with—movements on the stock exchange. The terms themselves have been dissected, the history of their usage has been painfully extracted, and they have been frequently re-defined in the course both of scholarship and of polemic. Religion, it has been made abundantly clear, means different things according to whether we are concerned with systems of morals or with forms of ecclesiastical organisation. Capitalism, we now realise, takes on new faces even in an industrial society. It may be persuasive rather than predatory, it may call upon the service motive as well as the appetite for profit, and it may sustain contrasting codes of ethics as raw individualism gives way to sophisticated organisation. It has caused more than one crisis since 1922, but it has also achieved substantial and momentous economic growth. It is plausible to argue that the prospects both of religion and of capitalism today are brighter than they were in 1922.

These vicissitudes have not robbed Tawney's title of its fascination. Religion and capitalism between them fill libraries as well as churches and factories. Relate the two of them together, and the fascination is sharply increased. Tawney's title leads back to distant 'origins', implies a network of hidden 'relationships', and, not least, may be employed in a score of different contexts.

There was nothing new, of course, in seeking to discover such a relationship. As early as the seventeenth century more than one writer sought in religious factors an explanation of the displacement of economic activity from Southern and Catholic Europe to North-Western and Protestant Europe. By the end of the nineteenth century both the apologists for and the critics of capitalism drew heat from the embers of this controversy. The imputed association of Protestantism and Catholicism could be treated as a matter either of shame or of pride. In 1904-5 Max Weber raised the controversy to the academic level. His two articles on 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism', along with a further article, written a year later, on 'The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism', provided new fuel for a debate which continued to the beginning of the Second World War.

Tawney owed little directly to Weber. They shared the same problem, but they approached it from different angles and with different methods. In some important details, indeed, Tawney was a vigorous critic of Weber. He argued that Weber had explained by reference to a single principle phenomena which were the result of converging causes, that he had failed to note that while Calvinism helped to mould the social order it was itself moulded by it, and that he had treated 'ascetic Protestantism' as one whole without examining the differences between the sixteenth century and the two centuries which followed. All these criticisms are searching, but they reflect above all else the basic difference between British empiricism and German conceptualism. Weber's 'distortions' are explicable in part, at least, in terms of his method, particularly his use of 'ideal types': Tawney cared little for this 'methodological scaffolding'. Nor, indeed, have most of his British readers. *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* has established itself in this country not so much as a contribution to an academic debate as a book of outstanding significance in itself.

Its appeal as a book has been at least as great as the appeal of its title. First published in 1926, it quickly established itself as one of the small number of history books which every one is expected to read. Although its thesis has often been grossly over-simplified, sometimes turned into a bundle of platitudes, and all the many careful qualifications made by Tawney himself have usually been stripped away, it has captivated and still captivates most serious readers.

This is partly at least because the book can be read for pleasure as much as for enlightenment. It bristles with memorable aphorisms. 'The loftiest teaching cannot

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Religion and the Rise of Capitalism. By R. H. TAWNEY. *Murray.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

escape from its own shadow.' 'Rashness is a more agreeable failing than cowardice and, when to speak is unpopular, it is less pardonable to be silent than to say too much.' 'Mankind, it seems, hates nothing so much as its own prosperity.' In the 1960's we can give our own meanings to these expressions of the 1920's, certainly to the last. The book is rich also in metaphor, and its purple passages are the most dazzling in all twentieth-century British historical writing. The style is what we have now come to recognise as vintage Tawney, tangled and luxuriant in its energy and vitality, abounding in unlikely analogies, bedecked with rippling quotations, and softened, sometimes too disarmingly, with irony.

The contrast between the glorious profusion of the style and the stark simplicity of Tawney's social purpose is as great in this book as in the best of his other writings. It is a history book which has to be read because it is no ordinary history book. It ends with tough denunciation.

> Compromise is as impossible between the Church of Christ and the idolatry of wealth, which is the practical religion of capitalist societies, as it was between the Church and the State idolatry of the Roman Empire.

This is not the kind of comment that is common in later twentieth-century monographs on economic history. The people Tawney detested have been treated by other historians in quite neutral fashion: some have even been admired. The 'idolatry of wealth' does not seem to be idolatry to all those who make money or even to all people watching others making money. To talk feelingly about idols you first have to believe in gods. Tawney's refusal to compromise is an expression of strongly held values and passionate belief in a moral order. British readers will want to compare Tawney not with Weber but with Tawney. *The Acquisitive Society* appeared in 1921: the lectures on which *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* was based, were delivered the following year. All is of one piece. *Equality* was not written until 1929, but already in 1922 Tawney was directing attention to the 'truism' that 'since even quite common men have souls, no increase in material wealth will compensate them for arrangements which insult their self-respect and impair their freedom.' 'The lion in the path' does not figure in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, but Erasmus's eagle does. It is treated as the symbol of the age. 'Of all birds,' Erasmus wrote,

> the eagle alone has seemed to wise men the type of royalty – not beautiful, not musical, not fit for food, but carnivorous, greedy, hateful to all, the curse of all, and, with its great powers of doing harm, surpassing them in its desire of doing it.

Tawney was incapable of writing a work of historical scholarship which was not at the same time a work of social criticism. Consequently of the score of different contexts in which *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* may be pertinently quoted, perhaps the most pertinent is the context of nineteenth- and twentieth-century socialist

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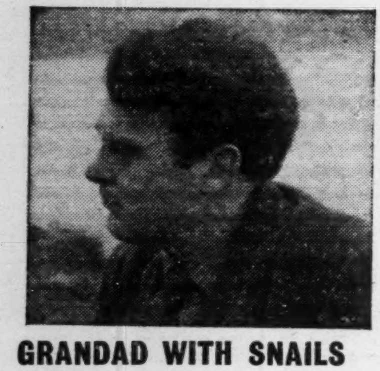

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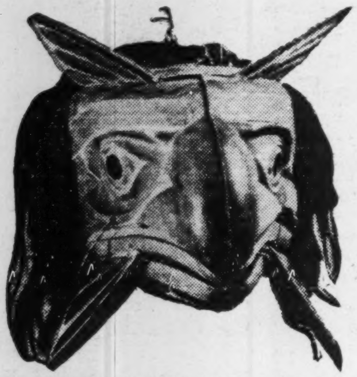

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thought. Unlike many other socialist historians, Tawney did not start with the industrial revolution. For him the great break came long before the invention of the steam engine.

> The surrender had been made long before the battle began. The spiritual blindness which made possible the general acquiescence in the horrors of the early factory system was not a novelty but the habit of a century.

He remained uneasy about 'industrialism', but his critique of it was grounded in an analysis not only of pre-industrial but of pre-mercantilist society. And unlike most other twentieth-century socialist intellectuals (to use what in his case is a question-begging term), Tawney rooted his social criticism in Christianity. Canon Scott Holland, in whose memory the lectures on religious thought on social questions were given, was a theologian and a prophet: the chairman of the Holland Trustees, to whom the book was dedicated, was Charles Gore. The subject-matter of all the Holland lectures, of which these were the first, was to be 'the religion of the Incarnation in its bearing on the social and economic life of man'. Tawney's contribution can only properly be understood if it is related to a tradition of 'social Christianity': those who dislike the tradition have always been tempted to disapprove of Tawney's conclusions.

Religion and the Rise of Capitalism was designed to expose a heresy, the heresy that religion belongs to one compartment of life and economic activities and social institutions to another. In the second paragraph of his book Tawney quoted a speech of Lloyd George at Portmadoc in which the Prime Minister (as he then was) explained the catastrophe which must follow if the Church crossed the Rubicon which divided the outlying provinces of the spirit from the secular capital of public affairs. Such advice is still given today, but the heresy is probably less strong than it was in 1922. The assumption behind it, however, is probably stronger. It is that there is an autonomous economic department of life with its own standards and its own objectives. One of the working rules of this department is that 'the attainment of material riches is the supreme object of human endeavour and the final criterion of human success'. Tawney stated in 1922 that this assumption was 'accepted by most reformers with hardly less naivety than by the defenders of the established order'. Today he would have to substitute 'rather more' for 'hardly less', certainly if he were talking, as he would have to do, in international terms. Belief in the working rule has gained ground collectively even where economic individualism has been treated as old-fashioned and anachronistic.

Even in its own time, of course, Tawney's approach to the creation of a socialist society was radically different from that of most intellectual spokesmen of socialism. Not all his colleagues, if pressed hard, would have shared his values or his ways of expressing them. The difference between the content and texture of the books of the socialist Old Testament is at least as great as the more recently advertised difference between the books of the Old Testament and the New. Yet Tawney can still be read easily and profitably because he talks about values. The more the debate shifts from the inefficiencies of capitalism to the weaknesses of its underlying pattern of values, the more relevant he becomes.

Paradoxically, of course, he can also be read with profit in countries which are concerned not with curbing economic appetites but with developing them. The debate on the relationship between religion and the rise of capitalism in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe petered out just before the Second World War. A certain amount of historical writing since – on the economic history of Holland, for example, or on the late flowering of charity in Protestant England – has direct bearings on the Tawney and Weber theses, but the debate has passed from the general to the particular. And New England figures as prominently in the debate as does Old England.

Where Tawney's and Weber's theses are strikingly relevant is in new countries where the religion in question is not Christianity and where the enterprise is public as well as private. There in distant societies, where traditional social systems are being eroded and where politics and economics daily distort each other, can be found the materials for the Tawneys of the future. Will they be able to blend historical scholarship of the highest order with the power to judge and even to condemn? Tawney has succeeded in doing so, and he has been blessed with the crowning gift of humility too.

A Piteous Peace

Tentatively I turn
all lights on again;
nowhere is gloom ascendant;
nowhere does darkness stain
my seeing, nor
uncertainties remain.

Here is a plain
uncluttered room;
I turn all darkness
out again; lights bloom
about as flowers on
a paper-patterned wall
and nothing I call
sadness can remain.

It is a name
that I uncover where
the darkness flares again –
and yet I may not name her here.
It is enough to claim
no darkness may remain.

But pity me
that in the pain
of cleanliness I leave
no fear. Security was what
I most implied. And love,
that's lonely in the darkness
that I clear, has closed
its boyhood eyes on me
and died.

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Mr Hart, stage-struck from the start ('the theatre is not so much a profession as a disease'), came up the hard way, the son of curiously negative parents, living in an atmosphere of unrelieved poverty in a New York slum. To supplement the shaky family budget, he worked after school hours in a music store and, later, braved the appalling smells in the vault of a wholesale furrier. Even in times of real crisis, money could not be borrowed.

> Poor people know poor people and rich people know rich people. It is one of the few things La Rochefoucauld did not say, but then La Rochefoucauld never lived in the Bronx.

In due course be became office-boy to Augustus Pitou, Theatrical Enterprises, and, dismayed at the low standard of plays submitted for Mr Pitou's consideration, sat down and, in five days, wrote *The Benevolent Bandit*. A backer was found in genial Mrs Henry B. Harris, who owned a Broadway theatre and had survived transit in the *Titanic*, and the play was tried out in Chicago. The leading actor decided, for a reason never fully understood, to make his first entrance through the fireplace, interpolating a line of his own authorship to the effect that 'every day is Christmas when the Irish come to town'. This daring novelty failed to please and, before he could intone his quota of 'macushlas' and 'mavourneens', the audience, unsmitten by the Bandit and led by Chicago's leading critic, went streaming up the aisle to safety, leaving poor Mr Hart 'a full-fledged failure at eighteen'.

Moss Hart's next theatrical tousling was to play in New York, at two days notice, the part of Smithers in a revival of *The Emperor Jones* with Charles Gilpin, the great Negro actor. At the second performance, this gifted player took refuge in unwise quantities of stimulants.

> Gilpin made his entrace stumblingly, quite as though he had been pushed out from the wings – which indeed he was – and made directly for the throne, where he sat down heavily and proceeded to go to sleep. The audience sensed nothing strange in this, but for myself I was openly panic-stricken, and the stage manager, seeing the obvious panic on my face, hissed to me from the wings, 'Shake him – go ahead and shake him. Get him up on his feet'.

There followed years of gruelling spells of duty as social director at summer camps with Mr Hart leading community singing, arranging fancy dress routs ('A Night in Old Montmartre'), reading aloud from Edna St Vincent Millay, giving character analyses by handwriting and holding symposiums on Companionate Marriage. At one disastrous camp,

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PEGGY GUGGENHEIM

June CONFESSIONS OF AN ART ADDICT. Mrs Guggenheim has been collecting the work of avant garde artists since the thirties. She has run two galleries and launched many painters who have become famous. But don't expect from her 'lifemanship' about art, or the jargon of criticism, because you won't get them. She writes as she speaks and she speaks as she feels: disconcerting in one paragraph, funny in the next, with a naked honesty and simplicity which make her book a fascinating study in autobiography. Illustrated. 18/-

LIONEL FIELDEN

July THE NATURAL BENT. Whether fighting at Gallipoli, or working with Nansen, or creating All India Radio, almost from scratch, Mr Fielden was always torn between the dictates of an independent rebellious nature and the success towards which his abilities steered him. A turbulent career resulted, here recalled in a book which crackles with amusement and temper, alternately wise and rash, infuriating and likeable. Mr Fielden calls it a story of failure, but its originality, vigour and charm will certainly make it a success. 25/-

THE LION HOUSE

May MARJORIE LEE. Serenity on the surface, danger underneath: the 'lion house' of this novel is an apparently conventional relationship between two couples, concealing an unacknowledged attraction between the two wives. 12/6

WAKE UP, STUPID

May MARK HARRIS. A good many Americans think Mr Harris their most delightful novelist. Few Englishmen know him as yet. We find his new book so witty, original and wise that we believe it will become the rage among, as they say, 'discriminating readers': meaning, if you prefer conventional situations and characters, you had better steer clear. 15/-

THE BACKWARD SEX

June IAN CROSS. Recommended by The Book Society. A most engaging and perceptive novel from New Zealand, by the author of *The God Boy.* 12/6

List from 12-14 *Carlisle Street, London W1*

André Deutsch

being short of suitable clothes, he resorted to the dressing-up box and, in pretence of 'making fun', appeared, 'throbbing with embarrassment and rage', in a succession of mirth-provoking costumes – Long John Silver, Louis XIV, Abraham Lincoln and, in uniform, as General Nuisance of the Deep South. When not involved with these summer revels, he directed little-theatre groups and concientiously wrote one unsuccessful play each year until, by a happy chance for all of us, he discovered his gift for satire and comedy and wrote, with the assistance of the ace-collaborator, George Kaufman, a smash-hit entitled *Once in a Lifetime*. The history of this fruitful collaboration is riveting, and the entire book is a delight. Personally, I'm already back in my seat, eagerly awaiting Act Two.

One of the many blessings of being middle-aged is to have been able to see, in London and in person, not only the ageless, lissom hoofer, Fred Astaire, but also his piquant and expert sister, Adele. This famous pair, who began upon the professional stage when just out of the nursery (Fred playing a lobster and Adele a glass of champagne), enchanted us in the Twenties and when Adele retired to marry Lord Charles Cavendish, many wondered how Fred would manage without her. He managed unusually well, launching into talking pictures with an apparently unlimited supply of suitable partners. Though less nimble with the pen than with the feet, Mr Astaire has an agreeable tale to tell and some good stories. While in liberated Europe, dancing for the troops, he was stopped by a Belgian boy with an excited 'I know you'. 'And who am I?' asked Mr Astaire. There was a pause, and then the answer 'Ginger Rogers'.

There is just space for two more books, both excellent. In *A Quite Remarkable Father,* Leslie Howard's daughter has written a detailed and rather moving account of this skilful, shy, engaging actor who went on the stage more or less by accident and found it 'the most embarrassing occupation in the world.' Henry Kendall, in a varied career that has included Shakespeare and Gingold revues, remembers Romano's and much else besides, including an evening when, during the run of Charlot's Revue, undergraduates celebrating Boat Race Night climbed on to the electric sign outside the theatre and disconnected the C in Charlot's. They were, he assures us, Oxonians.

ARTHUR MARSHALL

Best since Haldane

The Private Papers of Hore-Belisha. BY R. J. MINNEY. *Collins.* 30*s.*

There cannot be many people under forty who remember precisely who Leslie Hore-Belisha was or what he did, so complete and Wolsey-like was his political eclipse when Chamberlain dropped him from the War Cabinet in January 1940. Yet, in the five years before the war he was one of the central figures on the political stage, first as Minister of Transport (perhaps the underforties may have ancestral memories of his name from its association with those hideous yellow beacons that still dot the urban streets), and then as Secretary of State for War in the last two and a half years of peace. He arrived at the War Office at a time when the Regular Army was 20,000 men short of its authorised strength and had virtually no new equipment. Largely by his own personal energy he reversed this trend, instituted long overdue measures of democratic reform in the Army's structure, produced the nucleus of an anti-aircraft defence system for the country, risked his whole political fortune on the introduction of conscription in the spring of 1939, and was entitled to the lion's share of the credit for the fact that Britain was able to send to France a good and well-equipped expeditionary force when war came. Yet four months after the outbreak of war he was suddenly asked by Chamberlain to leave the War Office for another Ministry and, on his declining the latter, disappeared into the political shadows, emerging only for a brief period of minor office in Churchill's caretaker government of 1945, until his death three years ago.

Mr Minney, having had access to Belisha's copious notes and diaries, has wisely decided not to write a full-length biography but to concentrate on his two and a half years at the War Office, and his own comments supply merely the connecting link between Belisha's graphic accounts of Cabinet meetings and of arguments within the War Office, with other departments, or with the French. The result is a highly interesting narrative from several points of view. Belisha himself emerges for the first time as a three-dimensional figure, his driving ambition to become another Disraeli developing into a passionate attachment to the Army and a desire to consolidate his reputation as the best War Minister since Haldane. Considerable light is thrown on the feeling within the Cabinet both before and after Munich; and the impression one gets from other sources is strengthened: that his colleagues would have forced Chamberlain's resignation if Halifax had not been a peer, and the only other alternative, Churchill, politically impossible. In the light of the contemporary debate on Britain's relations with the Continent, it is fascinating to trace the extreme reluctance with which Whitehall confronted the necessity to make any commitment to the French or to the defence of Europe.

But on the greatest enigma of Belisha's career – why Chamberlain felt it either necessary or possible to dismiss a man who was popular with public, backed by the Press (including *The Times*), and trusted by the majority of the Army, simply because Gort at GHQ and Ironside at the War Office found him difficult to work with – Mr Minney is not able to shed much light. In this sense the book is an interesting study on how the Establishment can sap the position of a figure whom it dare not challenge openly. There were a number of weak points in his defences, though none of them would have been decisive: he was a Jew; he was bouncy like Tigger and tone-deaf to the criticisms which his energetic methods often aroused; though he adored the Army he lacked the necessary reverence for the high brass, many of whom he had promoted from obscurity; the Treasury were fed up with him; the Court (though not the King) were susceptible to pressure from the Field-Marshals; Churchill, once back in Whitehall, was clearly jealous of him, and played an equivocal role. So in the end 'They' were able to get him, playing on the susceptibilities of a Prime Minister who put a higher premium on Cabinet harmony than on departmental vigour, and were able to force out of public life a man of quality and purpose by reason of his very single-mindedness.

ALASTAIR BUCHAN

John C. Miller's *Origins of the American Revolution*, which was first published in 1943, has been reïssued with a new introduction and bibliography. (Stanford: Oxford, 42s.)

Ears and Eyes

Experiencing Architecture. By Steen Eiler Rasmussen. *Chapman & Hall, 30s.*

The most informative piece of architectural description in recent months was neither verbal nor visual, but purely acoustic – the taped sequence at the beginning of the much-honoured radio documentary *Clausura,* in which the sound and echo of footsteps defined, with startling accuracy and conviction, the room shapes and floor coverings of a sequence of interiors traversed by a visitor entering the convent.

Acoustics, temperature, airflow, the physical experiences of moving about, probably tell us as much about buildings as does the sense of sight (even with your eyes shut you can tell when you are at the top of an Underground escalator) but they have never been admitted to the good books. Not, that is, until the modest beginning that Professor Rasmussen makes with acoustics in the last chapter of his odd book *Experiencing Architecture.* However it is not just this one chapter on audible architecture that makes the book an oddity. Steen Eiler Rasmussen was a hero-figure of the Lewis Mumford epoch, and his book on London was (and still should be) regarded as a classic of urban description and evaluation. His conception of 'the layman', for whom this present book is consciously written, seems to date very much from that same period as well. As a result greying lay veterans of the architectural battles of the Thirties will probably read Rasmussen with growing pleasure, feeling that here is a sensible fella who gets to the heart of his matter without a lot of high falutin' theoretical nonsense, and puts over what he has to say in straightforward, fundamental language.

Younger readers (the comparison with the present state of Left political writing need not be pressed) will equally probably decide that they are being talked down to, or taken for idiots – the lay public of the Thirties were dead ignorant visually, but the telly has made laymen of the Sixties very hep in visual matters, and even if they don't know much about architecture, the range of visual material they can summon up from memory for purposes of making comparisons is encyclopaedic. As a result, Professor Rasmussen's laboured verbal comparisons of visual effects, and his long-winded verbal metaphors for visual qualities, are likely to earn his book a yawn and its rapid return to the Recent Acquisitions shelf of the public library, where it had been proudly placed by a balding, pinkish librarian convinced that he had at last found an architectural book that the lay public would really enjoy.

In fact, junior tele-sophisticates would be the losers. In spite of the square language and a depressing tendency to argue from undistinguished buildings, there is a lot of shrewd stuff here, most notably the acoustics chapter, perceived with well-trained ears and eyes, pondered by a mind that really cares about architecture. On reflection, this is not really a book for beginners at all. One really needs – as when reading V. S. Pritchett on literature – to know enough of the subject to respond with a delighted 'how true' at the key points in the argument, or – I should say – at the key illustrations to the argument, as in the disquisition on lighting in Vermeer and de Hooch, or the frequent observations on Baroque planning in Rome or lighting effects in Venice, that pepper the middle chapters of the book.

Didactic Rasmussen does not altogether convince, then, but observant Rasmussen does. Specialists and lay readers alike will probably get the best out of *Experiencing Architecture* not by approaching it as a guide on how to experience, but as the record of the experiences of a sensitive and sensible man, and thus as a yardstick against which to measure their own.

Reyner Banham

Debacle

The Fell of Dark. By James Norman. *Joseph.* 18s.

The sickening last days of the Spanish civil war between the collapse in Madrid and the anarchy at Valencia provide the material for this saturated and dramatic novel. The author served with the Republican forces, but he has avoided projecting a purely personal reminiscence and is far enough from events to eye them mercifully. His concern is to show a scattered group of characters brought face to face with death. Their centre is Luis Sanromán, an elderly, unworldly intellectual of European fame – he is drawn obviously, to some extent, from Unamuno and Baroja – who has refused to have anything to do with the war and who is 'wanted' by both the Franco and the Republican sides. If he can be rescued by the Republicans, he will add enormously to the prestige of the government in exile; the Fascist party see they must get in first at any price and indeed decide to kill him. The testy and contented old egotist and philosopher refuses rescue in Aranjuez, but wanders off on his own in the direction of Valencia, bemused by what is happening. He

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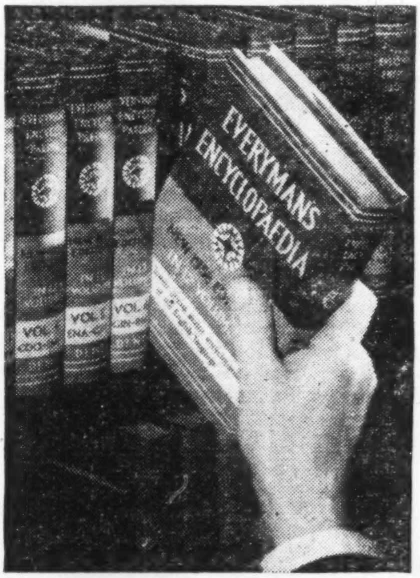

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picks up an abandoned child and the two grope their way on foot from one deserted village to another. Starvation, physical exhaustion and the terrors of the road force him to take note of the world he now lives in, but they do not affect his fundamental belief that life is meaningless, that social dogmas are vanity, that God does not exist and that one has no character and no real apprehension of life until one realises the fact that one dies alone.

While Sanromán discourses to the child or to anyone who will listen, he is unaware of his melodramatic situation. He has no idea that he is being hunted. His son is fighting on the Republican side and is in love with the young daughter of Lalo, a professional soldier and Fascist secret agent in Valencia. It is Lalo (who admires the old man) who has orders to kill him. Lalo is revolted by his job for he is an honourable soldier; but forces more primitive than duty or honour have been released in this war. Lalo has had to deceive his own son and witness his execution. The springs of action for him – and everyone else – are simply anguish; cruelty leaps out of animal pain. Mr Norman's novel has many such melodramatic dilemmas, but they are perfectly justified in the context of civil war. The danger for the novelist is that they should be treated as moral dilemmas; it takes a Goya to see them for what they really are – phases of horror, twists of pain, scenes from the logic of nightmare in which the individual has no choice.

Mr Norman understands this and – as far as any Westerners can – understands Spaniards intellectually but, of course, from the outside. It is another thing to convey the blindness and emptiness of Spanish egotism in the scenes and characters a novelist must evoke so that we *see*, rather than listen to explanations. There is a vital difference between presenting foreign people as they would present themselves and writing *about* them even with Mr Norman's sympathy and intelligence. He is not above inserting the odd Spanish word or hispanisizing his English in dialogue (though he does better with Spanish obscenities than Hemingway did) and the effect of this is to introduce an incongruous travel note. The key to human beings is in their actions not in their syntax. But in the narrative which describes the collapse of an army, the confusion in the country, the sudden emptiness of towns, and the fantastic and dreadful situation in Valencia, Mr Norman has done brilliantly well. The essence of civil war is its fury and its incompetence, its intimate beastliness and its farce, and in his account of the last 48 hours in Valencia Mr Norman has caught all this exactly and without pressing the emotional pedal down. His coolness in the final pages of suspense serves him well. Luis Sanromán wanders into Valencia, still discoursing happily on death, and is smuggled from house to house. The captain of the American ship which is taking off refugees, is kept fabulously drunk until the last minute and performs a final dance of pitiable obscenity in the brothel where they are keeping him until they get the old man aboard. The minor characters in these scenes are truthfully done. It is frightening – at the end – that they have so little apprehension of the monstrous vengeance that awaits them; we wonder whether Mr Norman has been tricked by his own compassion or whether, because we know what happened, we cannot read his fiction without one eye distracted by the historical facts. Compassion is Mr Norman's virtue. an alien one, for it rarely manifests itself in Spanish history.

V. S. PRITCHETT

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The Changing Fashions of Economics

Economic Development. By BENJAMIN HIGGINS. *Constable.* 60*s*.

The Stages of Economic Growth. By W. W. ROSTOW. *Cambridge.* 21*s*.

Economics as an academic subject is more liable than most to gusts of fashion. Most of these are due to events in the immediate past which took the theorists' fancy. Secular or even eternal truths are then distilled from this flimsy stuff. As economic trends change with bewildering rapidity and the process of theorising takes time, the publication of the theory usually occurs when the trend that produced it has already changed. The fact that, to be really respectable, such theories must be so constructed as to lend themselves easily to mathematical forms, adds to the airiness of the construct.

The trauma of the 1930's thus gave life to what might be called the accidental-catastrophic view of growth in which only rare luck prevented the system from swinging wildly from the extreme of boom to depression. When it appeared in its final form in the 1940's stable full employment seemed assured. This in its turn has promoted a school which appears to take a necessarily serene view, where full employment is maintained all the time, and growth is predetermined by technical progress, ability to save, and distribution of income. Hardly was this view in print when underemployment and economic fluctuations reappeared.

Professor Higgins tries to sort out the relation of theory to practice in the present massive volume. He gives a history of economic thought and then analyses policy problems, calling on the experience of a number of countries to give him bench marks. Constructed for the US textbook market, the book is perhaps a bit too voluminous and less critical than one might wish a study of this basic problem to be; but as an introduction it is certainly the best available. Its dispassionate exploration of possible approaches to conscious planning contrasts favourably with the one-sided treatment which the topic has hitherto received in this country and the US. It is a pity that the Soviet challenge has not received the attention it deserves, though there is an interesting discussion of the contrasting developments in China and India, on the fate of which the future of the world so much depends.

Professor Rostow's book inevitably suffers from having been, in a very abridged and imperfectly argued form, widely published as an alternative to the Communist manifesto. In neither passionate conviction nor brilliance of style can it be compared with that hated document. It is in fact a rather primitive exercise in materialistic historicism, which finds immediate material causes for 'laws' of historical development.

Because every country had to be agricultural or pastoral in the beginning – for otherwise its people would have died (having eaten the game, the fowls and the fish), and because all countries which are highly prosperous are also highly industrial, Professor Rostow has worked out a theory which sees development as a necessary sequence of stages. There is nothing objectionable in this, but one does begin to object when sequences, whose causal connection is not really analysed, are put forward as making a pattern, which is not merely inexorable but immutable. After a certain interval the 'take-off' is followed by a 'drive to maturity'. Countries are discussed as if they were people acting on material motivations. A chart is produced in which the development of the US and the Soviet is contrasted. Devised on a logarithmic scale, taking the figure for 1913 as 100, a rise of US production between 1950 and 1955 from, as it looks on the chart, 200 to 250 (absolute figures are not given) seems not very different from the Russian 300 to 400. But there *are* colossal differences between these figures. If a chart were prepared on the same basis, comparing the relative economic development of, say, India and Britain since the Lord Buddha, the two lines of development would look practically the same, with the Indian crossing above ours about the time of Aurangzeb, and the British developing only a slight upward trend after 1760. The relative difference between rich modern Britain and poor modern India would be flattened out because of the construction of the chart. When attacked by Mr Wiles for this shoddy analysis, Professor Rostow promised to give chapter and verse for this thesis. He has not done so. Nor has he analysed the mainspring of Russian progress past or future, nor the impact of demobilisation, of the completion of the rocket programme on the use of the new electronic industry for the automation of manufacturing. In fact he has not analysed the Soviet challenge.

All this would not be serious if this sort of theorising did not encourage complacency in the wrong quarters. Professor Rostow is, himself, quite sound on many current issues. He insists on the need for reforms in the poor, and for extended aid from the rich, countries.

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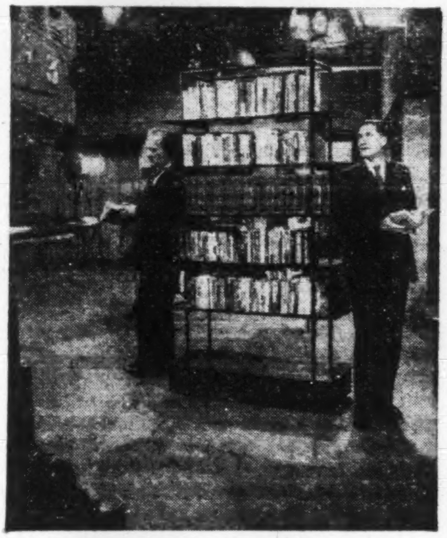

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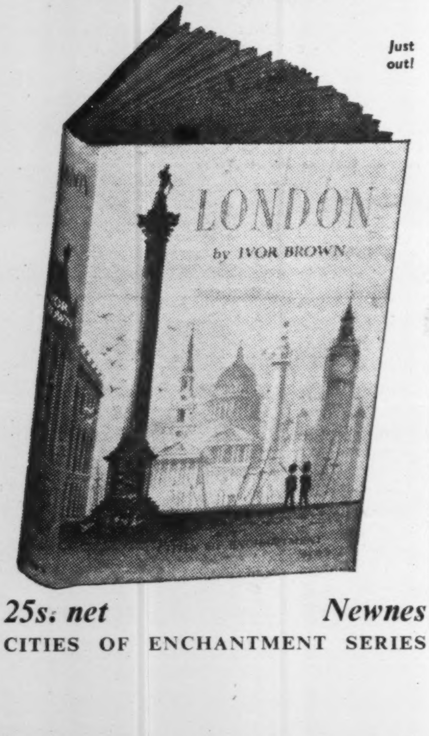

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T. BALOGH

Defence of Shelley

Shelley: His Thought and Work. By DESMOND KING-HELE. *Macmillan.* 42*s.*

Mr King-Hele is a professional mathematician engaged in the theory of guided missiles. He believes that Shelley's scientific studies were important to the writing of his poetry, and that they are equally important to the understanding of it. The first point has often been made, but the second is developed with a tenacity and independence which gives the book its vein of distinction. While Mr King-Hele is unravelling Shelley's extra-humane education at Eton and Oxford, and surveying more widely the state of science in the early nineteenth century, his eye is upon the present condition of Shelley criticism. He wants to upset the fashionable verdict that Shelley couldn't think by exposing the 'blend of exact science and vividly human metaphor' in his writing.

His success in this venture amounts to a string of local half-victories. In his running fight with Dr Leavis over the question of Shelleyan vagueness, he more than once persuaded me that Shelley had a clear picture of what he wanted to say when he sat down to say it. Once the notorious 'locks of the approaching storm' from the West Wind has been given the treatment by Mr King-Hele, the image makes much better sense than it did before. And it may well be that 'an admired critic, F. R. Leavis, completely misinterpreted the lines because he failed to distinguish between the fractostratus and cirrus clouds'. All the same, exegetical commentary of this kind usually falls short of decisive vindication. Mr King-Hele is not vigilant enough in his distinguishing between what was in Shelley's head and what is on the page. Also, he interprets the history of Shelley criticism as a sudden eruption of loutish iconoclasm in the Thirties, with the result that he underestimates his opposition. Certainly Matthew Arnold anticipated modern preoccupations with Shelley's weak grasp of the actual, in his 'Shelley builds a many-coloured haze of words and images' – 'builds a haze' is a neat stroke; but he also went deeper and wider in his complaint of 'lack of substance'.

Nearly all the Shelley criticism of any stature, from Hazlitt and Keats to Mr Eliot, has been hostile. The friends of Shelley are on the whole a feeble lot. They can do with Mr King-Hele, who fails (in my judgment) to make much impression on the general issue, and whose book has more than its share of dead phrases ('a few sparks of true poetry') and critical inanities ('He extracted the essence of Wordsworth's gospel of communion with Nature'.) But his correlation of science and lyrical impulse reveals a definite edge to Shelley's imagination. And this is a considerable achievement.

JOHN JONES

New Novels

St Petersburg. By ANDREY BIELY. Trs. JOHN COURNOS. *Weidenfeld & Nicolson.* 18*s.*

The Trial Begins. By ABRAM TERTZ. Trs. MAX HAYWARD. *Collins with Harvill.* 12*s* 6*d.*

A Matter of Time. By KENNETH MARTIN. *Chapman & Hall.* 15*s.*

The Young Assassins. By JUAN GOYTISOLO. Trs. JOHN RUST. *MacGibbon & Kee.* 16*s.*

The Hero Continues. By DONALD WINDHAM. *Hart-Davis.* 15*s.*

Reading *St Petersburg,* I couldn't help feeling that I was supposed to marvel more than I did at its dazzling array of suspenseful flashbacks, symphonic anaphora, dreams, levels, hallucinations, crowded bravura, echoes, symbols and asides. But it's just as gripping as it is giddily clever. The action occupies a couple of days in the geometrically-planned city of the title, seething with the revolutionary energies of 1905. Senator Apollon Ableukhov who, deserted by his wife, has developed a top-person-sized pattern complex, senses desperateness and misrule on the orderly air. He well might; for his son has pledged himself to the revolutionaries, who equip him with a bomb in a sardine-tin. The target, his father; the method and occasion unspecified; the time twenty-four hours, for this muddled young blade has managed to start the thing ticking. It ticks throughout the second half of the novel and its final ineffectual explosion is, I suppose, symbolic. Nothing here is static. The self-important senator shrinks when he is sacked; his perfidious wife glides back in rags; another world – that of proletarian squalor on Vasilyevsky Island (woodlice, peelings, cockroaches and all) – looms and swells. Lippanchenko, the *agent provocateur* 'with lips that resemble slices of salmon', gets grotesquely murdered. An army officer, whom young Ableukhov has cuckolded (or seemed to), shaves off his beard and tries to hang himself. But the ceiling falls in, and he survives for new indignities.

The whole book provokes the mind to snatch at (or fend off) Meanings; this makes for strenuous reading, but brings swarmingly alive a population with a doom complex. The great merit of this in so many ways astounding, demented novel is Biely's refusal to simplify his people and crowds or to complicate his prose, which is sharp, brassy, nervous and vivid. Atmospheric details, much gusty talk and the precise use of characterising images raise the writing to a very high level. John Cournos's zestful translation makes me want to see more Biely in English. In this novel, first published fifty years ago, the structural tricks look a bit *voulu* beside the heart-rendingly funny, gravely compassionate conception of the whole.

Abram Tertz – the pseudonym of a Russian writer publishing on this side of the Curtain – satirises the last year of Stalin's reign. We find the regimented mind recoiling into lechery, beauty-parlours, jazz, secret societies dirty postcards and, of course, Thoughtcrime, of which this little novel's optional symbolism is a splendid sample. The public prosecutor, preparing to arraign an abortionist, finds that his own unfaithful wife has herself trafficked with that subtle calling. And so: what trial? Of what? Certainly not of the reader's patience. Desperate and ironic, with a bite to its prose not unlike Biely's, *The Trial Begins* is the best caution I know against trans-curtain cant. It also resumes the endearing garrulity, the foaming social art of the

Russian novel's (as the narrator says) 'prehistoric' phase.

A Matter of Time consists largely of conversations, most of them deftly revealing. Don, a young repertory actor living with his two sisters in a seaside town, falls for Liz, a selfish newcomer to the company. As their affair thrives – an apprehensive alliance of two over-tentative spirits – Don's spinster sisters gradually surrender, each in her own way, to prurient, snappy but never heartless loneliness. Occasionally Don goads them into bewildered animation; but in the end he loses the girl, and one of the sisters buys the inevitable TV. It's an authentic, eavesdropping sort of book, and Mr Martin knows exactly what he is doing; but I hope he won't rely too much on his ability to individualise watery people. There's monotony here and there, as if he were using the characters as an excuse for repeating moods he knows best. The repetitions add little, whereas the occasional lunging outbursts suggest power unused.

Apart from some awkwardness ('These aftermaths left him masochistic') and an appallingly slow start, *The Young Assassins* gives an exciting account of how a bunch of Madrid students plan to murder a politician just for the hell of it. Uribe, a dipsomaniac des Esseintes ('I want to steal the frost from the rooftops and make a gift of it to the blind doves') inadvertently causes the role of executioner to fall on David, the ditherer, the goody-goody desperate to prove himself. The last seventy pages, in which climax and anticlimax force maturity, self-denial, conscience and stark terror into the hermetic world of the well-heeled delinquents, are almost Dostoevskian; the characterisation is steady throughout, the writing harsh and agile.

Mr Windham, with masterly changes of pace, traces the seemingly ruinous rise of a compulsive young drifter who writes plays. A sudden success lifts Denis Freeman into a coarse paradise of rawsilk suits, alcohol rubs, jags and Jags, sycophants, pills and long-distance 'phone calls. Gradually he is stripped of advantages; he loses an eye, an arm, even sexual potency and his hypochondria. Brought to an awareness of his true sources of strength, he soldiers on. Realistic stuff, but rather too knowing; as if Denis Freeman himself had ghosted parts of it.

PAUL WEST

Week-end Competition

No. 1,575 **Set by Red Setter**

'I saw my first corpse at Wembley Park station' – this promising scrap from a City gent's conversation was recently reported by Cassandra in the *Daily Mirror*. Competitors are invited to write a short story beginning with this sentence. Limit 150 words; entries by 10 May.

Result of No. 1,572 **Set by Stephen Gill**

William Shakespeare, William Blake
We are marching for your sake –

chanted a well known Royal Court playwright on the 1959 Aldermaston march. Competitors are invited to compose a comment on this statement by Shakespeare or by Blake.

Report

No need to march for *us* was the tart rejoinder from both poets, with most competitors. Were the whole earth gone, the lines of Shakespeare (according to G. J. Blundell) 'Still would shine as stars To earth's sad exile

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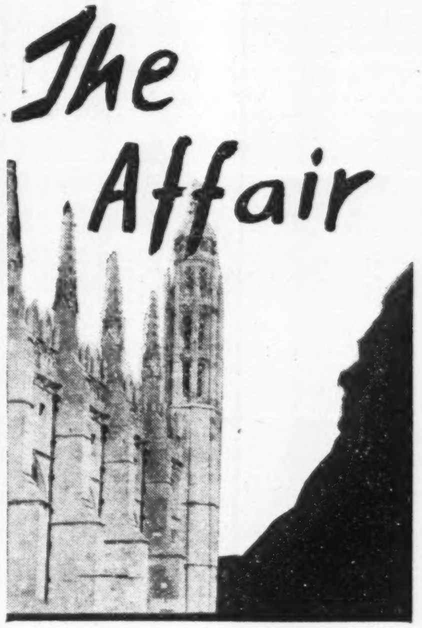

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ATLAS OF THE ARAB WORLD AND MIDDLE EAST

Forty pages of maps and 20 pages of text and photographs provide a comprehensive picture of this important area. *Index.* 35*s*

MACMILLAN

on the shores of Mars.' L. G. Udall's Blake was equally firm: – 'Do not think you march for me Safe in immortality.' With few exceptions, such as a John of Gaunt harangue from H. A. C. Evans, the bards applauded the marchers while anxious to clarify their objectives.

Prize money to be divided between Stanley Sharpless, Allan M. Laing, Margaret Wood and Rhoda Tuck Pook (one of the few dissenters). Commended: R. Kennard Davis and Maurice B. Reckitt for their ingenious patchwork of Shakespeare lines; also Doris Pulsford, Vera Telfer, Francis Drake and L. A. Burman, who decorated his Prophetic Book with truly Blakean fervour.

Shakespeare To A Marcher

Methinks thy thoughts run counter, my young friend.
March not for glories long since vanishéd.
We live but while men live – end with their end.
Let then thy·Anger always Look Ahead.

March for the children yet unborn, ungot,
Who, if thy purpose fail, may come to birth
Scarce half made up, deformed, a monstrous blot
Upon the face of this once kindly earth.

March to bring vision to the glassy eyes
Of politicians, who to dateless night
Consign mankind, nor heed their desperate cries
That no one hath a stomach for this fight.

March! If thou failest, lads and girls all must
Dissolve and fall to radio-active dust.

MARGARET WOOD

Blake Comments

Nay, but this is rashly said!
In God's keeping are the dead.
Raise your agonising cry
For a world that's yet to die.
In trumpet tones the murderers warn
On behalf of babes unborn,
Lest a stern creator makes
No more Shakespeares, no more Blakes.

ALLAN M. LAING

To march for William Shakespeare's sake
Is an intellectual mistake,
Whereas to march for me
Is a fearful blasphemy.
You must march for babes who moan
With a canker in the bone;
Those who perished without shroud
In the poisonous mushroom cloud.
March for Pity and for Peace,
That the Evil One may cease;
March for Mercy and for Love,
And the low-descending Dove.
Those who have God's atom split
Evermore shall pay for it;
March that they shall stay their hand,
And not defile our pleasant land.

STANLEY J. SHARPLESS

Zealot, zealot, burning bright
In the consciousness of right,
Know, in circles such as thine
Fan and crank are woven fine.
Better far your energy
Blazed for holy charity.
There are children lost from birth,
Exiles in their Father's earth,
Children only in the name:
Light them, warm them by your flame,
Whoso stoops to succour them
Shall rebuild Jerusalem,
But if motley ramble be
Limit of your sympathy,
Of your vision and your wit,
Kindly leave me out of it.

RHODA TUCK POOK

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City Lights

Nods and Winks

The self-appointed exegetes of monetary policy sold out to the irrational some years ago by choosing to lean heavily on its psychological and incantatory aspects. Their instinct – for they can hardly have imagined at that time how the popular City columns would develop under a stock exchange boom and a flood of financial advertising – has been justified by the event: Grandma's antique subtleties have now become the pretext for a kind of mass hysteria. Businessmen, of course, may remain healthily immune. 'They do not take a great deal of notice of the popular press', a bank manager informed Radcliffe; 'press comment, or what they term uniformed press comment, is little regarded by the industrialist'. It may still be so. But the City lives on its nerves, and even the top people who read only top papers cannot help but be infected to some extent with the mood of frenetic, impotent anxiety which the new-style City editors have been exuding for weeks past from their competitive headlines.

The popular newspapers are right, of course, in demanding simple answers to simple questions: once they have found the courage to abandon any attempt to keep up with the experts at monetary gamesmanship, the experts will have to meet them on their own ground. The plain fact is that bank credit, given the first full suspension of controls in a generation, grew unchecked so rapidly last year that the City became *hubris*-conscious, determined to stave off the inevitable *peripateia* as long as possible, yet ready to collapse abjectly as soon as it could be staved off no longer. Grandma began to drop her heavy hints months ago, and they were happily ignored; Bank rate went up, but the market went up too and nobody took much notice. Yet the mood had changed, and the City was not surprised to come across hints, semi-inspired and over-heavy, of a tough Budget to come.

When the Budget turned out to be considerably softer than expected, than the trade figures suggested or Mr Amory's speech seemed to imply, tremendous emphasis was unanimously accorded to the sentence in which he declared his readiness to restrict credit. The City, its latent anxieties awakened and kept awake by the chattering of the newspapers, has been waiting for the axe in sickening impatience ever since. The newspapers, unfortunately for Grandma, had caught hold of the idea that the old-fashioned directive to the banks was out and that a new gimmick, special deposits, was in.

They may very well be introduced. But it is worth stressing, first, that the mood of hysterical anticipation of the past couple of weeks is almost entirely artificial, each newspaper mistakenly supposing that its rival is better informed and so helping to build up the pyramid of conjecture to an apex of firm forecast; second, that if formal action is now taken, readily enough by the Treasury, most unwillingly by Grandma, it will be partly for the sake of giving the public what the public seems to want. The special deposits device, admittedly, is Grandma's own brain-child, but it was conceived without enthusiasm and a number of innate defects have now become apparent: the old lady still prefers to achieve as much as possible in the old, informal way, with nods and winks. The banks have been putting a mild brake on new advances for two

TWW LIMITED

INDEPENDENT TELEVISION FOR SOUTH WALES & THE WEST OF ENGLAND

*Statement of the chairman,
the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cilcennin PC. to the Third Annual General Meeting
held in Studio No. 1 of the company's television centre at Pontcanna, Cardiff
on Thursday 21st April, 1960 at 3 p.m.*

For TWW the second year of operation has been an opportunity to consolidate its position in the life of the community in South Wales and the West of England. Your directors are satisfied that much progress has been made.

During this period the company has re-organised its capital and become a Public Company. The share-holding represented by the founders' shares remains unchanged.

A spearhead which takes us further into the company's future has been our decision to proceed with building a Bristol Studio which is intended to provide, as from next autumn, a service complementary to that from the Cardiff Studios. The success of the News Studio already established in Bristol is an encouraging sign that such large-scale developments are welcomed by our viewers in the West. TWW will take pride in being the only television company to operate from sister stations, each situated in a different country. This year of consolidation and growth has also been financially productive and the company's accounts show the strength of our position.

The challenge of providing programmes seven days a week for a bi-lingual region has been accepted gladly, and our Audience Measurement Records show a remarkable degree of consistency over the year. This is taken to indicate that our viewers enjoy not only the programmes with a majority appeal, but also those which cater for the needs of minorities, be they programmes in the Welsh language or programmes dealing with specialised subjects.

Much emphasis has been placed on the distinctive presentation of regional news (alternating between Cardiff and Bristol), regional sport and Welsh language programmes. Similarly the presentation and diversity of our originated programmes as a whole have been planned to enable viewers to discover entertainment value in everything from a clash of articulate opinion to a programme devoted wholly to the arts. Several of our originated programmes have attained *Top Ten* ratings, and many very distinguished people have paid us the compliment of appearing before our cameras. Programme series as well as individual productions have been seen on the national network.

Advertising

The trend in the first year of operating has been carried on through 1959. A steady and continuing growth in the number of commercials transmitted has shown that there is no doubt in the minds of advertisers about the significant and increasing part your company plays in television advertising.

Test campaigns conducted during 1959 have convinced national advertisers that your company is the most powerful advertising medium in the region they cover.

Our Shareholders may also be gratified by the results of pioneer efforts made to bring the message of the regional advertiser to the viewing audience. This local advertising, which includes a special service to retailers, has continued to expand, and has been widely copied elsewhere. More local advertising was transmitted by your company during 1959 than by any other British television station. An even greater revenue from regional sources is therefore expected during 1960.

An increase of more than 100,000 homes capable of receiving our programme has also been recorded during the year under review.

Premises and Equipment

When our Bristol project is completed, your company, with our Cardiff Studios, will have at its disposal a conjunction of two modern television studios which can be interlinked to provide for the foreseeable future a regional coverage more comprehensive than any other. The principle of compact layout, which proved so successful in Cardiff, has been applied to Bristol so as to comprise every new facility and technique, and meanwhile the studio at Cardiff is also being extended to produce the maximum efficiency for a growing output and to provide the best possible conditions of work. An Outside Broadcast Unit and mobile videotape recording equipment will be fully employed throughout the region during 1960.

Staff and Management

Good labour relations between management and staff have contributed much to the efficiency of our service and to the pleasant atmosphere which visitors to our Studios are kind enough to appreciate.

The year has shown no lessening of effort; indeed the keenness and loyalty of the company's staff at all levels has been everywhere apparent. Thus it has been possible to undertake, in a style normally outside the capacity of a regional company, elaborate production assignments and experimental work which provide invaluable experience for the future.

You will, I know, wish me on behalf of this Board to express our gratitude to a most loyal and efficient staff.

Because of other commitments, Mr. Mark Chapman-Walker had to give up his Joint-Managing Directorship during the year, but fortunately for your company was able to continue as a member of your Board. Mr. Alfred Francis therefore became sole Managing Director. During the year Mr. Tom Jones, the Managing Director of Berrows Newspapers, was elected to your Board.

The Nature of Regional Television

It may be imagined that a regional programme company which originates only 15% of transmissions in its area has in some degree a diminished responsibility. Your Directors do not share this view. On the contrary, they believe that a regional company has a special responsibility for imprinting its personal stamp on Independent Television as a whole. It can do this only by establishing its true identity in its own region and by considering first the individual needs of its own viewers. By so doing it may develop a distinctive flavour which pleases a wider audience — as witness the popularity of *Land of Song*, a monthly musical programme produced in the Welsh language which achieves good Sunday ratings all over the country, not least in Scotland. It is not the size or quantity of regional contributions to television which matter most; it is the quality. Because we aim always at quality, in whatever kind of programme we originate, we are in a position to welcome our share of public responsibility and to aim at giving a valuable and lasting service to the community.

Future Prospects

Our experience has shown that local enthusiasm for television is still increasing, and this enthusiasm is underlined by the interest of advertisers. Your Directors regard every new project as an affirmation of faith in the future of television, whether it takes the form of large-scale planning for Bristol or donations to the arts and sciences.

We envisage that our responsibilities will grow, and it is therefore probable that our running costs will increase commensurately with our wider operation, as was indicated last September in the public advertisement. Moreover, as in television the drain on human material is very great, the whole problem of replenishment must be seriously considered in its long-term implications. But sound planning will enable us to meet whatever calls are made on this company in respect of an extension of responsibility.

Investment

A substantial portion of your Company's Reserves has been earmarked for future development. The great strides made in television stand already in the shadow of advancing knowledge. Colour television is only one likely development, and new methods and techniques in our present field of activity appear with a speed which keeps engineers constantly alert.

Your Board of Directors also have in mind the possibility of diversifying the company's interests and of widening the base of an enterprise such as we control. A number of projects are in course of investigation and shareholders may be sure that their interests will be given foremost consideration.

The Report and Accounts were adopted and the other business was duly transacted.

COMPANY MEETING

THE BRITISH PETROLEUM COMPANY

Strongly Competitive Marketing Conditions

The 51st Annual General Meeting of The British Petroleum Company Limited will be held on 19 May in London.

The following is an extract from the Statement by the Chairman, Sir Neville Gass, K.B.E., M.C., which has been circulated to Stockholders:

The Group's sales for 1959 of crude oil and refined products totalled 65 million tons, and the Group's net income was just over £63 million. For the first six months of the year, the sales tonnage was practically the same as in the first six months of 1958. The year's increase of some 3 million tons was thus secured mainly in the second half-year. This is an encouraging feature, as also is the growth of nearly 10 per cent in the inland trade in products of our marketing associates.

The Group's income, before taxation, was £131 million. This was less by £7 million than in 1958, although the sales tonnage increased – a reflection of the depression in prices caused by the strongly competitive market conditions, which showed no improvement as the year progressed. Due to the reduction in the charge for taxation, the Group's net income, at £63 million, was practically the same as in 1958 and, after allowing for the recommended dividend, there has been retained in the business a total of £97 million.

The total capital expenditure of our Group in 1959 amounted to £141 million, an increase of £3 million. We must be prepared to continue to find large sums for capital expenditure since to attempt to stand still would result in going backwards. This would be detrimental to our competitive position as a major British interest in the international oil industry, and also inconsistent with the development responsibilities inherent in the extent of the resources of crude oil to which we have entitlement.

The Outlook

Turning to the general position of the industry, 1959 showed an appreciable recovery in the rate of expansion of demand, but the industry is likely to have to face the difficulties due to the over-abundance of available supply for a further considerable period.

It is to be hoped that the increasing supplies from new sources will come into the supply pattern in a steady and not disruptive manner. Forced development can disregard the interests of established supply sources which continue to be needed for the fulfilment of the total requirements and for many of which the maintenance of oil revenue is essential for their social and economic development, itself indispensable for progress and stability.

In our case the total sums included in our 1959 Accounts for payment to the Middle East countries under fifty-fifty agreements amount to £115 million, and, as in 1958, these sums greatly exceed the Group's net profit for the year, £63 million.

In the year 1960 we are expecting an increase in our sales but, again, it would be imprudent, market conditions in the Eastern Hemisphere being what they are, to expect any material increase in the trading margins, though we are paying particular attention to economy in operation in all sides of the business in order to mitigate the effects of the depression in selling prices.

The difficulties of the present situation, though not likely to disappear in the immediate future, should not be allowed to obscure the encouraging longer term prospects of the oil industry. The growth of population, expansion in world economy, industrialisation and improvement in living standards, particularly in under-developed countries, will be accompanied by a continuing increase in the demand for energy in which oil has a major role to play. The oil industry, granted freedom of international trade, should therefore continue to enjoy confidence as a growth industry and we are well placed to participate in this growth.

Distribution and Sales

Whilst our total sales of crude oil and finished products at approximately 65 million tons showed an increase of over 4 per cent, compared with 1958, inland sales of products through our associated marketing companies increased by nearly 10 per cent, thus confirming the trend to cover a greater proportion of our total product sales through our own direct marketing organisations.

In the field of lubricants we have had a successful year, and demand for our BP Energol Visco-Static motor oil has continued to grow. A new lubricant under the name of BP Energol Tractor Oil Universal, designed to meet the requirements of engines, hydraulic systems and transmissions of every major tractor manufacturer in Europe, has been developed and put on the market. Our recently developed branded product for two-stroke engines, BP Zoom, has been introduced into new markets and has enjoyed a rapid growth in sales.

Personnel

I conclude by paying a tribute to the staff of our Company and the fact that it is customary does not make the tribute less sincere, or less well earned. BP is an international concern and in the past few years I have been privileged to travel to many of our centres of operation and see our staff at work; I have always been most impressed by their enthusiasm and interest in the Company's progress.

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months past (though the need to honour commitments already undertaken makes this change of attitude slow to appear in the published figures) and have been given a warning that compulsion would be used if they did not comply voluntarily. The warning was meant to be enough.

It is the more unfortunate that the figures of bank advances during April, on which the papers had been concentrating so much anticipatory attention, have turned out to be as disgracefully high as ever – mainly because of heavy advances made by the National Provincial, whose chairman, having just ceased to be an official go-between, may have felt the need to re-assert his independence. But it is unlikely in any case that nods and winks alone would have achieved very much. The banks, despite their taste of freedom, are still infected with feelings about the national interest, and branch managers, if they must refuse advances, want a plain official direction to serve as their excuse; most bankers, too, would much prefer such a plain direction to a procedure which purported to leave them freedom of action while preventing them from selling the gilt-edged stock they no longer see any logical reason to hold. Between the neurotic sensitivity of the City and the brutal unconcern of the rest of the country, monetary policy is having a hard time of it.

* * *

The Finance Bill, if not quite so tough as the tone of Mr Amory's Budget speech, makes no real concessions to the critics. The government, torn between those of its supporters who think of tax-dodging as a game and those who resent the large profits made out of the game by a few experts in the City, has decided that it cannot risk the appearance of condoning conspicuous avoidance. But it is only conspicuous avoidance which is to suffer. The inequities which arise, for example, out of the distinction between Schedules D and E, are now so widespread and familiar that they have almost ceased to be a political issue, yet their effect – in loss of revenue as well as in social corruption – is very much greater than that of bond-washing and dividend-stripping.

Company News

This is the flush season for company news, and most of it has been good. *Radiation* (stoves and fires) has increased its profits by 175 per cent since the end of HP restrictions and is raising its dividend from six to ten per cent with a two per cent bonus.

Rugby Portland Cement is looking forward to an excellent year (though there is the Restrictive Practices Court in 1961) and *Associated Electrical* reports that business is looking up on all fronts.

John Dickinson, the paper maker, is proposing to use a fair slice of its large lump of spare cash in repaying Preference stock and returning some capital to Ordinary holders: it denies any knowledge of a bid.

The two really bad results of the week have come from *Babcock & Wilcox* and *Cammell Laird*; the first, which makes boilers, has reported profits down far more than expected, from £3¼m to little over £500,000, with a dividend cut from 13 to nine per cent and still not covered by earnings; the second, which builds ships, has had more strikes than almost any other firm in the country and reports a 60 per cent drop in profit – partly offset, no doubt, by the earnings of the wagon and steel companies which it owns 50-50 with Vickers and which are not consolidated in its accounts.

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PERSONAL

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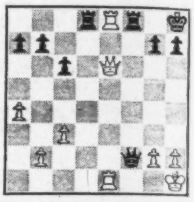
The Chess Board

No. 546 The 64 Squares Question

'Are you playing for a win?' asked Najdorf. 'No', said Boleslavsky, intently staring at the board. 'So you're playing for a draw?' – 'No'. – Najdorf raised his eyebrows in some exasperation. 'You aren't playing for a loss, are you?' – 'No', said the other grandmaster. – 'So you're playing for a draw after all?' – 'No', said Boleslavsky, still staring at the board, 'no, I am just playing.'

This happens to be a perfectly true story, but even that can hardly detract from its charm. I took it from Kurt Richter's *Einfälle, Reinfälle* (*de Gruyter, Berlin, DM 5*), a most entertaining little collection of anecdotes and 186 diagrammed positions, almost every one of which is as amusing (and instructive!) as this one: /6rk/pQ5p/B2R3p/3kt3r/3Ktp2q/5pP1/PPP2P1P/4R1K1/. It seemed all over for White (the Rumanian master Onesciuc), yet he saved himself very neatly by (1) KtxP!, PxKt; (2) Q-Kt7 ch!! etc. An even more spectacular change of fortune occurred in this position. /r4rk1/1pq2p2/p4PpR/5b2/2kt2p1Q/1Kt6/PPP3PP/1K5R/. Not a hope for Black to avert mate, unless, of course, he could inflict it first. And so he did. (One Herr Pfistler trouncing Herr Stiefler at Heidingsfeld, 1959): (1) . . .Kt-R6 ch; (2) K-R1 [If the Kt is taken, it's mate in two], KtxP ch; (3) K-Kt1, Kt-Q5 ch; (4) K-R1, KtxKt ch; (5) PxKt, Q-R4 mate. Now take this position (Dely-Portish) from the 1959 Hungarian Championship. /8/Q4pbk/6p1/4p1P1/1p2Kt3/1P3q2/KPP5/8/. Who would think that White could force a P-promotion forthwith. He did: (1) Kt-B6 ch!, BxKt; (2) QxP ch, K-R1; (3) Q-B8 ch! [An important move so as to stop a subsequent Black Q-check at a8], K-R2; (4) PxB, Q-Kt2. No other way to stop immediate mate; (5) Q-K7 ch, QxQ; (6) PxQ, and there it is, unstoppable. And here (Evans-Bisguier, USA Championship 1958/59) is a position pregnant with exciting possibilities. /4bk1r/Q4ppp/1p2q3/8/4B3/8/P4PPP/4R1K1. White played Q-R3 ch, and since obviously . . . K-Kt1 is ruled out on account of the B-check . . . Q-K2 was forced; whereupon B-B6!! forced the issue quite brilliantly. When he conceived it, may be Evans had this position (Lombardy-Kramer, New York 1957) in mind. /5rk1/p2r1ppp/b4q2/3B4/8/Q3R1P1/PP3P1P/4R1K1/. Black hoped to hold everything by . . . Q-Q3, but White floored him with one fell blow. After (2) B-B6!! the Q mustn't take on account of White's threatened Q-sacrifice, followed by the R-mate. Nor is . . . QxQ; (3) RxQ any better because Black must lose at least exchange & P. What happened was . . . B-B1; (3) BxR, QxB; (4) R-Q3, Q-B2; (5) Q-Q6, resigns.

A: Kurt Richter 1957



With quite an abundance of 4-pointers for beginners to choose from, I might as well pick one of the author's own exploits. How then, in this position, did Black decide the issue in a couple of moves, forcing resignation by a very simple and instructive manoeuvre? For 6 & 7 ladder-points respectively, **B,** a draw is simple enough, whilst **C,** a win, might be facilitated by the useful hint that sometimes a detour may be the only way to reach one's destination.

B: Otto Gallischek, 1959: /1r4k1/8/7P/7P/6q1/8/K1Q5/8/.

C: José Mugnos, 1958: /1k6/1P6/1P1p4/3B4/5p2/7K/16/.

Usual prizes. Entries by 9 May.

Report on No. 543 Set 9 April

A: (17) RxKt, PxR; (18) BxP ch, K-K2; (19) RxB ch etc.

B: (1) K-R1!, K-B6; (2) K-R2, K-Q5; (3) K-Kt3, K-K4; (4) K-B4, KxP; (5) K-Q5 etc.

C: (1) K-Kt6, P-R6; (2) P-R6, P-R7; (3) P-R7, P = Q; (4) P = Q!, QxQ; (5) P-B6!, P-R6; (6) K-Kt5, P-Q5; (7) P-B6!, PxBP; (8) PxP, P-B4; (9) P-Q5! etc.

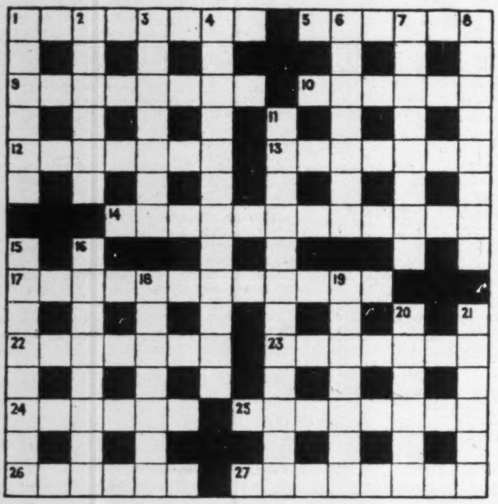
But (9) PxP? gives Black a draw by . . . QxP ch!

Bouquets for **C,** but it wasn't too difficult. Prizes: Gerald Abrahams, E. A. Barclay-Smith, H. Garfath, J. M. Hollis, J. J. Walsh.

ASSIAC

Week-end Crossword 403

Prizes: Three book tokens of 15s. for the first correct solutions opened. Entries to Crossword 403, New Statesman, Great Turnstile, London, WC1, by first post 10 May.



ACROSS

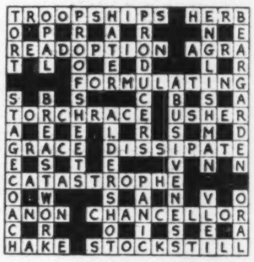
1. Caught like the upper classes in old clothes (8).
5. Not a motorway overseas (6).
9. If hot-headed instead of cold, the primitive would become a general (8).
10. The goddess goes around returning thanks for woad (6).
12. Means of hoisting a man about to do wrong (7).
13. Sword not in the gallery (7).
14. Part of a book makes it sound all quiet where there is fighting (12).
17. If the dead were missing those with connections would be buried (12).
22. Social occasions with cultural activity among the food (7).
23. Matthews is about to begin as a deity (7).
24. The courage I show in return journeys (6).
25. Moulding for a girl who follows the stars (8).
26. Sweet ending with Mr Cooper (6).
27. The expert yearns and makes it last (8).

DOWN

1. Insect the lower half of which is a woman (6).
2. Source of heat and what it does for divers (6).
3. Actor who includes one in an address to something internal (7).
4. Royal gift for Sinatra in a change of scene (12).
6. Shoots a vessel rising where the passengers get on (7).
7. Thrusts forward unwelcomely as the debtor mixes with us (8).
8. A creature without indication of being a planner (8).
11. Protector of the chair starts as a fool who opposes the premier (12).
15. Places a varied sip among the medicines (8).
16. The sailor goes into the drink for a bird (8).
18. Not so fine for a prince (7).
19. Bring into bondage (7).
20. The students' lark interrupts the teacher, an intimidating creature (6).
21. States in a genuine document (6).

SET-SQUARE

Solution to No. 401



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Write with full details including referees to London Representative of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, Room 327, Centre Block, Bush House, London, WC2.
Closing date Monday 16 May 1960.

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Salary scale: £A1,500 – 80 – 2,060, with superannuation on the FSSU basis. This scale is under review and will, it is expected, be increased in 1961.

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APPLICATIONS are invited for the post of Tutor for the DIPLOMA COURSE FOR INSTRUCTORS OF OLDER DEFECTIVES, which will begin in the Midlands in October 1960, with the aims of training teachers and instructors for work with adult mentally handicapped persons in Sheltered Workshops, Industrial Units and Mental Deficiency Hospitals. Applicants for the post should be graduates with teaching experience, and some experience of sub-normality. Salary in the region of £1,000-£1,200.

Enqs to: The General Secretary,
National Association for Mental Health,
39 Queen Anne St, London, W1.

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HEALTH DEPARTMENT

MENTAL WELFARE OFFICER

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Preference to candidates holding a University Diploma or Certificate in Social Science or Mental Health or other appropriate qualification.

Duties in connection with such work as may be necessary under the Mental Health Act 1959, and at present include duties of Duly Authorised Officers.

Salary scale APT II, £765 to £880 per annum.

Post superannuable. Medical examination.

Application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Medical Officer of Health.

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APPOINTMENTS VACANT—continued

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UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

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Applications are invited for the newly established Chair of Political Science.

Applications (three copies), together with the names of three referees, should be sent not later than 31 May 1960, to the Registrar, The University, Edgbaston, Birmingham, 15, from whom further particulars may be obtained.

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NEWTON-le-WILLOWS, LANCS.

Home Office Approved Training School for Intermediate boys aged from 13 to 17 years.

Home Office Classifying School for boys aged from 8 to 17 years.

PRINCIPAL: JOHN VARDY, OBE. Extensions being added at these Schools are expected to be completed in July when the following additional members of Staff will be needed:

TEACHERS, HOUSEMASTERS, EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGIST, CRAFT INSTRUCTORS and MATRON.

It is hoped to fill two of these vacancies by married men who, living in their own houses, will with their wives act as HOUSEPARENTS to small groups of boys living in separate units during the last months of their training. Accommodation is available for married or single persons.

Applications (no forms) for any of these posts should be forwarded to the Principal as soon as possible.

A vacancy will arise in July for
A RESIDENT SOCIAL WORKER
at
Crowley House,
Weoley Park Road, Selly Oak,
Birmingham 29.
To be responsible for
AFTERCARE CASE WORK.

Crowley House is a small Family Rehabilitation Centre under the control of a voluntary Committee. Mothers with a variety of family problems come into residence with their children for periods of up to four months, and fathers stay at weekends.

Applicants should have either a Social Studies Qualification or appropriate experience, and would be working in a team of trained workers in this social work experiment. This resident post provides opportunity for intensive casework, and carries special responsibility for casework with families who have returned to their own homes. Ability to drive a car is essential. Staff accommodation is in an attractive newly built self contained wing. Salary will be on accepted scales according to age and experience.

Application forms and further information may be obtained from the Secretary at the above address.

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APPOINTMENTS VACANT—continued

CITY OF BIRMINGHAM

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Applicants should possess the Home Office Child Care Officer's Certificate or should have had at least two years' experience of this work and be in possession of a social science degree or diploma. Applications will be considered now from candidates who will complete the Home Office course in the current academic year. Further details from Children's Officer, 91 Lionel St, Birmingham 3. PO Box 93.

Closing date for applications – 20 May 1960.

HM TREASURY

At least two appointments in the Economic Section for work on economic trends at home and overseas are offered to men or women at least 21 and preferably under 30 with at least a 2nd class honours degree in Economics or related subject. Final year students may apply. Initial appointment for 5 years or less by arrangement. Salary within the range £655-£1,150 (men), the starting point being determined by age and experience. FSSU.

Application forms, obtainable from Civil Service Commission, Burlington Gardens, London, W1 (quote 5126/60/10), should be returned by 24 May 1960.

LONDON BOOK PUBLISHING HOUSE

With some interest in periodicals, well established, and unquestionably leading their field of specialist technical literature offers responsible position to

SALES and ADVERTISING MANAGER

who must be articulate and imaginative, capable of initiative, salesmanship and drive. Some experience of the trade essential. Write full details experience, salary required, etc., to Box 4151.

ST JOHN'S AND MANOR HOUSE HOSPITAL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

St John's Hospital, Stone, Aylesbury, Bucks.

PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORKER or SOCIAL WORKER

Applications are invited for the post of Psychiatric Social Worker or Social Worker to work with the Psychiatric Social Worker at St John's Hospital, a Mental Hospital with 860 beds and an extensive out-patient service. Candidates must hold a Certificate approved by the Association of Psychiatric Social Workers or a Social Science Diploma or degree in Social Science. Salary in accordance with the Whitley Council scales. Applications, with two names for reference, to the Physician Superintendent, St John's Hospital, forthwith.

COUNTY BOROUGH OF CROYDON ASSISTANT HOME HELP SUPERVISOR

Applications are invited for this superannuable appointment preferably from women with administrative experience in a similar local authority scheme. Duties include home visiting to assess needs, allocation of suitable help and engagement of staff. Applicants must be able to drive and a vehicle will be provided or an allowance granted for use of private vehicle.

The salary scale is APTI (£640 to £795 p.a. including London Weighting).

Application forms may be obtained from the Medical Officer of Health, 45 Wellesley Road, Croydon.

Closing date 9 May, 1960.

E. TABERNER,
Town Clerk.

ST CATHERINE'S College for Women within the University of Western Australia. Warden. Applications are invited for the above-mentioned position. The salary range is £A1,500-£1,700 p.a. with superannuation similar to FSSU. It is important that intending applicants obtain a copy of the Conditions of Appointment before submitting their applications. Copies are available from the Secretary, Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 36 Gordon Square, London, WC1. Applications close with the Secretary to the Council, St Catherine's College, Stirling Highway, Nedlands, Western Australia, on 30 July 1960.

APPOINTMENTS VACANT—continued

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL

CHILDREN'S COMMITTEE

Resident Deputy Matron required at the 'Highfield House' Children's Reception Home, Welford Road, Northampton, and the 'Eastfields' Children's Home, Victoria Road, Rushden, each accommodating approximately 20 children, aged 5 to 15 years. Salary, according to qualifications and experience, within the scale £420 to £520 (less £120 emoluments), plus £25 per annum responsibility allowance, plus a further £30 per annum if the candidate holds a residential child care certificate.

Applications, giving age, experience and qualifications, together with three names for reference, including present employer, should be forwarded to Children's Officer, County Hall, Northampton, within 14 days of the appearance of the advertisement.

J. ALAN TURNER,
Clerk of the County Council,
County Hall, Northampton.

UNIVERSITY of Sydney. Edwin Cuthbert Hall Chair of Middle Eastern Archaeology. Applications are invited for the recently endowed Edwin Cuthbert Hall Chair of Middle Eastern Archaeology. Salary will be at the rate of £A3,750 per annum, plus cost of living adjustments. Increases in University salaries are at present under discussion. There is retirement provision under the Professorial Superannuation Scheme. Under the Staff Members' Housing Scheme, in cases approved by the University and its Bankers, married men may be assisted by loans to purchase a house. The Senate reserves the right to fill the Chair by invitation. A statement of conditions of appointment and information for candidates may be obtained from the Secretary, Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 36 Gordon Square, London, WC1. Applications close in Australia and London on 30 June 1960.

UNIVERSITY of Hong Kong. Lectureship and Assistant Lectureship in English. Applications are invited for two newly established posts of Lecturer and Assistant Lecturer in English. Applicants for the Lectureship should have a degree in English from a recognised University and University teaching experience. Applicants for the Assistant Lectureship should have an Honours Degree in English from a British University. Annual salary (superannuable) is: Lecturer £1,575 × £50 – £2,175 for a man or £1,200 × £40 – £1,680 for a woman; Assistant Lecturer £1,375 × £50 – £1,525 for a man or £1,040 × £40 – £1,160 for a woman. There is also an expatriation allowance of £225 a year if applicable. The equivalent of income tax in the Colony is comparatively low. First class sea passages are provided for expatriate staff and their families on first appointment and leaves. Accommodation at reasonable rental is provided for those receiving expatriation allowance. Further particulars and information as to the method of application may be obtained from the Secretary, Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 36 Gordon Square, London, WC1. Applications close, in Hong Kong and London, on 31 May 1960.

UNIVERSITY of New England. Armidale, New South Wales. Lectureship or Senior Lectureship in Psychology. Applications are invited for the above-mentioned position. Commencing salary and grade of appointment will be determined according to qualifications and experience within the ranges: (i) Lecturer £A1,500×90 – £A2,100; (ii) Senior Lecturer £A2,200 × 80 – £A2,600, plus cost-of-living allowance. Provision is made for superannuation, travel and removal expenses, assistance in buying or building a house. Further information may be obtained from the Secretary, Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 36 Gordon Square, London, WC1. Applications close in Australia and London on 15 June 1960.

UNIVERSITY of Sydney. Lectureship in Ancient History. Applications are invited for the above-mentioned position. The salary for a Lecturer is within the range £A1,500-90-£2,100 per annum, plus cost of living adjustments (at present £A34 p.a.) and will be subject to deductions under the State Superannuation Act. The commencing salary will be fixed according to the qualifications and experience of the successful applicant. Under the Staff Members' Housing Scheme in cases approved by the University and its Bankers, married men may be assisted by loans to purchase a house. Further particulars and information as to the method of application may be obtained from the Secretary, Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 36 Gordon Square, London, WC1. Applications close, in Australia and London, on 11 June 1960.

KENT Education Committee. Folkestone School of Art & Crafts. Applications are invited for the post of full-time Assistant, Grade A or B (according to qualifications) to teach General Studies, including English to GCE 'O' level and History of Art and Design. Further particulars and application forms may be obtained from the Principal, Folkestone School of Art, Bouverie Road East, Folkestone.

APPOINTMENTS VACANT—continued

UNIVERSITY of Durham. King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne 1. Department of Social Studies. The Council of King's College invite applications for the post of Lecturer in Social Studies. Candidates should be prepared to lecture in Social Economics and Social Administration. The commencing salary will be determined at a suitable point on the scale £900 × £50 – £1,350 (Bar) × £75 – £1,650 in accordance with the qualifications and experience of the successful applicant. Family Allowance and FSSU benefits are also payable. The successful applicant will be expected to take up duty on 1 October 1960. Twelve copies of application, together with the names and addresses of three persons to whom reference may be made, should be submitted not later than 14 May 1960 to the Registrar of King's College, from whom further particulars may be obtained.

UNIVERSITY of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur. Lectureship or Assistant Lectureship in Philosophy. Applications are invited for the post of Lecturer or Assistant Lecturer in Philosophy for the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur. Candidates must possess an Honours Degree in Philosophy. The post will be tenable for one year in the first instance but may be extended for a further year. Overseas candidates will be granted a return passage if appointed. For further particulars please apply to the Registrar, University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, Pantai Valley, Kuala Lumpur. Applications close 10 May 1960.

UNIVERSITY of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. Lecturer in Classics. Applications are invited for this position. Salary range: £1,250 × £75 – £1,700 per annum. Further particulars are available from the Secretary, Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 36 Gordon Square, London, WC1, or from the Registrar, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. Applications close in New Zealand and London on 18 June 1960.

AGRICULTURAL Economists, 1 main grade, 1 Assistant, 1 main grade or Assistant, in Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. Pensionable posts in London for men and women. Age on 1.4.60: at least 26 (main grade); at least 21 and normally under 28 (Assistant). 1st or 2nd Class honours degree in economics, agriculture, horticulture or closely related subject; or closely comparable qualification. At least 3 years' appropriate post-graduate or other experience essential for main grade. Knowledge of statistical methods or practical experience of agriculture or horticulture an advantage. Final year students may apply. Duties include investigation of changes in financial conditions of agriculture and factors affecting agricultural output, analysis of farm accounting data, and preparation of material for farm and horticultural management advisory work. Men's London salary scales: (main grade) £1,233-£1,460; (Assistant) £655-£1,150. Starting salary above minimum possible in both cases. Promotion prospects. Write Civil Service Commission, Burlington Gardens, London, W1, for application form quoting 5127/60. Closing date 18 May 1960.

GOVERNMENT Social Survey. The Social Survey Division of the Central Office of Information require a Research Officer to conduct, and to assist in the conduct of, sample surveys covering a wide range of Social and Economic problems. The selected candidate will be free to devise fresh methods of approach to their problems and will work with highly skilled technical sections covering sampling, interviewing, coding and tabulation. Preference will be given to applicants with a university degree in one of the Social Sciences or Statistics but consideration will be given to applicants with a diploma or full-time experience in a research organisation. The post is graded Information Officer (unestablished). Salary £1,205 to £1,415 (men); £1,180 to £1,389 (women). Write, giving age, full details of exp. and quals. to Manager (P.E. 1363), Ministry of Labour, Professional and Executive Register, Atlantic House, Farringdon St, London EC4

ARMY School of Signals, Catterick, Yorks: Senior Lecturers. 1 post in Physics and Mathematics and 1 post in Telecommunications for men normally at least 30 on 1.5.60 with honours degree, preferably at least 2nd class, in (a) Physics or Mathematics, or (b) Electrical Engineering or other relevant subject with experience in two of the following fields: Telecommunications, electronic engineering, computers and electronic data transmission. For both posts lecturing ability up to approximately university degree standard essential. Salary: £1,550-£1,750. Starting salary under Burnham conditions. Teachers' superannuation. Successful candidates to take up duty as soon as possible. Write Civil Service Commission, Burlington Gardens, London, W1, for application form, quoting 5130/60. Closing date 24 May 1960.

RESIDENT Assistant Domestic Bursar for Women's University Hall of Residence required in June. Salary £280-£400 according to qualifications with full residence. Applications stating age, qualifications and previous experience with copies of three testimonials to Warden, Campbell Hall, 7 Taviton Street, London, WC1.

GALLERY Assistant for ICA, 17 Dover Street, W1. Apply only in writing giving details of experience, age, minimum salary required.

APPOINTMENTS VACANT—continued

THE Museums Association. Applications are invited for the post of Secretary & Editor of the Museums Association, the professional body for museums and art galleries and their staffs within the UK and with membership extending to many Commonwealth and foreign countries. The Secretary and Editor is the chief official and is responsible, under the Council and Honorary Officers, for the conduct of all the Association's activities, the publication of the monthly Museums Journal and the control of a small staff dealing with membership, finance and secretarial matters. Applicants should possess a good general education, preferably a university degree, and proved administrative and editorial ability. The salary scale will be £1,200 × £75 – £1,800. Applications, giving particulars of age, education and experience and the names of three referees, should be sent to arrive not later than 16 May, marked Confidential and addressed to the Secretary, the Museums Association, 33 Fitzroy Street, London, W1.

CENTRAL Office of Information require an Assistant Information Officer (unestablished) to assist in the progressing of recorded programmes on radio tape for use by broadcasting stations overseas. The work involves liaison with Government Departments, making arrangements with freelance contributors and undertaking the necessary correspondence. Experience of working with radio services would be an advantage. Salary according to experience and qualifications rising to a maximum £1,140 (men); £1,120 (women). Write, giving age, full details of exp. and quals to Manager (PE.1362), Ministry of Labour, Professional & Executive Register, Atlantic House, Farringdon Street, London, EC4.

LCC. Balham and Tooting College of Commerce, Tooting Broadway, London, SW17. As soon as possible (1) Lecturer in Accountancy (2) Tutor, Grade B, Book-keeping and Accounts (3) 2 Tutors, Grade A (i) Government and Law (ii) English. Applicants should hold University or professional qualifications, preferably with related industrial and educational experience. College provides full and part-time day and evening courses for professional, University entrance and similar examinations; also courses in business, trade and administrative studies. Consultancy research, and work on publications by staff, encouraged. Salary scales (men): Lecturer, £1,370 × £35 to £1,550; possible entry above minimum if justified by experience and present position: Grade B £700 × £27 10s. to £1,150; Grade A £520 × £27 10s. to £1,000; possible additions for qualifications and training; increments within scale for experience (Grades A and B). Slightly lower scales for women until 1961. London allowance in all cases £38 or £51. Application forms from Secretary at College to be returned by 13 May. (913).

LONDON County Council. Poplar Technical College, Secondary Boys' School (280 pupils, age range 11 plus to 16 plus) – qualified masters required for (a) mechanics (graded post, allowance £90); (b) general subjects (particularly history and geography). Burnham P. and S. salary scale £520 × £27 10s. to £1,000 plus London Allowance £38 or £51; additions for qualifications and training; increments within scale for experience. Application forms (foolscap s.a.e.) from Secretary at College, Poplar High Street, E14, to be returned by 16 May. (738).

WORKERS' Educational Association, East Midland District. Applications are invited for the following posts: (1) Tutor-Organiser for Lincoln and surrounding areas of Kesteven and Lindsey. Applicants should have a degree in subjects appropriate to adult education, preferably economics, politics, history. Salary scale £650 x £50 x £1,200. (2) Organiser for Nottingham and South Nottinghamshire. University degree not essential. Salary scale £600 x £25 x £800. The starting salaries may be higher than the minima according to experience and qualifications. Both scales are under review. Particulars from: J. T. Rhodes, District Secretary, 16 Shakespeare Street, Nottingham.

MIDDLESEX County Council. (1) Full-time Educational Psychologist reqd for Ealing area. Honours degree in Psychology or equivalent, recognised clinical training and teaching experience essential. Duties include general advisory work in schools and Child Guidance Centre. Salary Soulbury II £1,290-£1,560 (male); £1,271-£1,560 (female). Application forms (s.a.e.) from Chief Education Officer (GP), 10 Great George Street, Westminster, SW1 returnable by 8 May. Canvassing disqualifies. (2) Assistant Youth Officer reqd in Ealing (woman preferred). Good education, practical experience and/or training in Youth or Social Work essential. Knowledge of working of Youth Service desirable. Salary: Misc. IV/V, £590-£715 plus London Weighting up to £30. Application forms and particulars (f'scap s.a.e.) from Borough Education Officer, 26 Castlebar Road, Ealing, W5 returnable by 5 May. Both posts prescribed conditions. (Quote C.421 NS).

HOUSEKEEPER required for Jewish Old Age Home in London suburb. Excellent remuneration & accommodation. Box 4159.

PART-Time or Full-Time Secretary with good speeds willing to teach Shorthand/Typing wanted by West End school. Teaching experience and knowledge of one foreign language an advantage. Box 4141.

APPOINTMENTS VACANT—continued

COUNTY Borough of East Ham. Educational Psychologist required: Candidates should (i) hold a degree in Psychology or its equivalent, (ii) have pursued a post-graduate training course in Educational Psychology, and (iii) have had teaching experience. Consideration will be given to applications from students who will complete post-graduate training in 1960. Salary in accordance with Scale I for Educational Psychologists (Soulbury Award). Application forms (returnable 14 May 1960) and further particulars from Chief Education Officer, Education Office, Town Hall Annexe, Barking Road, East Ham, E6.

RAMPTON Hospital, Retford, Notts. Wholetime (a) Research Associate (Senior Psychologist Grade) – or (b) Research Assistant (Psychologist – post probationary) – required for research into psychopathic instability in new Research Unit. Close association with University of Sheffield (Department of Psychology) with facilities to register for Ph.D. Further information from Medical Superintendent. NHS Superannuation and Conditions of Service applicable. Salary (a) £1,025-£1,425 or (b) £735-£1,050, plus £65 allowance. Accommodation available. Applications, giving full particulars and naming three referees, to Medical Superintendent, not later than 21 May 1960.

APPLICATIONS are invited for appointment as National Youth Officer for the Co-operative Youth Movement. The officer will work within the headquarters staff of the Education Department but will be expected to undertake visits to clubs and groups throughout the country. Salary within the scale £780 × £25 to £980. Commencing salary according to qualifications and experience. Application forms and further details from the Chief Education Officer, Co-operative Union Ltd., Stanford Hall, Loughborough, Leics., to whom applications should be returned by 16 May.

HILL End Hospital, St Albans. Applications are invited from experienced and qualified Psychiatric Social Workers for the post of Tutor in Social Work at the above Hospital. The successful applicant will be required to draw up a syllabus of training in social work for qualified psychiatric nurses. The purpose of the scheme is to train staff in social service to patients both after a stay in hospital and while attending as out-patients at clinics or day hospital. The salary will be on the scale £665 to £895 and Whitley conditions of service will apply. If full-time the successful candidate should be willing to undertake some psychiatric social work with patients and a car will be made available for this purpose, but applications for part-time employment as tutor only will also be considered. Applications in writing giving age and experience and stating whether full or part-time appointment is applied for together with names of two referees to be sent to the Hospital Secretary, Hill End Hospital, St Albans, Herts, as soon as possible.

IMMEDIATE applications invited for the post of Caterer/Housekeeper at a hostel for 38 Colonial women students in Kensington. Candidates should preferably be between the ages of 25 and 45 with housekeeping and catering qualifications. Able to cook in Cook's time off. Salary scale £325-£351, with comfortable room and full board for which no deduction is made. Good post, contributory pension scheme and scope for women interested in the welfare of overseas students. Further details and application forms from Head of Hostels & Canteens Unit, The British Council, 65 Davies Street, W1.

SECRETARIAL Assistant (part-time, 5 hours on 5 days p.w.) required for research unit in psycho-pharmacology at University College London (Gower St, WC1). Good typist with some shorthand; intelligent; willing to learn simple computing; good with people. Acquaintance with psychology or medical sciences helpful but not essential. Applns to Asst Secretary.

LONDON manufacturing chemists invite applications from young men to train for the post of medical representative in Liverpool. The work will involve calling on physicians to discuss the Company's medical products. No selling. The post will be progressive and an adequate commencing salary will be paid. Write full details of present and past work, age etc., to The Secretary, Box 4100.

RECORD Company requires assistant to Publicity Manager. Must be capable of layouts, copy and ideas. Should also be experienced in sub-editing and editorial writing. Knowledge of classical music essential. Age about 25. Excellent prospects – successful applicant will immediately take over a large part of Manager's work. Apply Box 4093, stating experience and salary required.

RESIDENT Rep. and Guide required for holiday groups in Tyrolean Hotel from early May to Oct. Knowledge of German and friendly disposition essential. Box 4092.

LEADING Hotel booking agents have 2 permanent vacancies in their West End Office. (1) Reception Clerk. (2) Copy Typist. Interesting work. Daylight office. 5½ day week. Box 4157.

PUBLISHER needs (desperately) an intelligent Secretary. No experience of publishing required, only good speeds, reasonable French, and ability to think for herself. Please ring HOLborn 1705.

APPOINTMENTS VACANT—continued

OXFORDSHIRE. Resident Teache. for general subjects required by small school providing special educational treatment for maladjusted boys aged 11-16 years. Single accommodation available. Previous experience in Special Schools desirable but not essential. Burnham scale plus usual allowances. Apply in detail to The Principal, Swalcliffe Park School, Swalcliffe, Nr Banbury, from whom further information may be obtained.

CHILDREN and Youth Aliyah Movement for the Rehabilitation in Israel of Homeless Jewish Children. Applications are invited for the position of General Secretary of the Committee for Great Britain. Experience essential. Important position. Apply in confidence to: The Chairman, Children and Youth Aliyah, 233 Baker Street, London, NW1.

MATRON or Assistant Matron wanted for September. Salary according to experience and qualifications. Apply in writing, enclosing references and testimonials and particulars of education, to the Principals, Monkton Wyld School, Charmouth, Dorset.

SOCIAL Worker wtd London office, Northampton Diocesan Catholic Welfare Soc. Expd driver essential. Car provided. Apply Sec., 37 Brook Green, Hammersmith, W6.

LONDON Bookshop, West End, has a vacancy on sales staff for an intelligent and well turned out young lady, 18 to 25, Hard work and long hours but good prospects and salary commensurate with ability and qualifications. Box 4055.

UNUSUAL job for responsible music-lover; Philomusica of London requires assistant secretary; interesting administrative work with typing and shorthand; close contact with orchestra. Box 4049.

SECRETARY, University Hall of Residence, general office duties, vacation conferences. Salary £300 initially, with full board. Applications stating age with two references to Warden, Campbell Hall, Taviton Street, London, WC1.

SECRETARY required 30-40 years of age for The Church Adoption Society. Must have practical experience of the working of The Adoption of Children Acts, and be competent to deal with all aspects. Social science qualifications desirable. Should be a member of the Church of England. Commencing salary not less than £700 per annum, with superannuation benefits, according to qualifications and experience. Applications to Mr H. Reynolds, 41 Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, SW1.

SECRETARY with high qualifications, good education and elocution, used to composing own letters, wanted for small friendly office near Finchley Rd and West Hampstead tube stations. Shorthand/typing essential. Experience in advertising an advantage. Holiday arrangements honoured. No Saturdays. Please ring for appointment MAI. 9806 or evenings MAI. 0338.

THE Liberal Jewish Synagogue, 28 St John's Wood Road, NW8 (CUN. 5181) invites applications for the following staff vacancies. (a) Personal Secretary for a Minister. (b) Shorthand-Typist for Organising Secretary. (c) Part-time shorthand-typist/clerk for Assistant Secretary. Interesting work, pleasant offices and congenial conditions. Apply Assistant Secretary.

INVOICE Typist (or capable copy-typist), simplest calculations, for English & Foreign books and subscriptions. Salary according to TU agreement. 5-day week; 2-weeks holiday first year, 3-weeks subsequently. Apply: Collet's, 44/45 Museum Street, London, WC1.

LITERARY Agent London requires permanent part-time secretary. Box 4082.

SECRETARY/Shorthand Typist required to run interesting small office of Design Group. Write to Charles Kenrick Associates, 20 Fitzroy Square, W1.

WANTED: Secretary Shorthand/Typist – capable, with initiative and sense of responsibility, for voluntary Anglo-American educational organisation London, W1. 9 to 5.30 p.m. No Sats. Phone MAY. 9579.

ARCHITECTS require girl able to type as general assistant to run technical information library. For further particulars please ring: KNI. 4581.

SYBIL Topham of Dutton's Agy wishes to interview (a) experienced Shorthand/copy typists for temporary staff. (b) competent Secretaries for interesting posts, £650-£800. 92 Gt Russell Street, WC1. MUS. 7379.

'THE Wind of Change' can blow for you too at the Winifred Johnson Staff Bureau, 114 Holborn, EC1 (next door to Gamages). HOLborn 0390.

SEC./Sh. typs. Temp. Top sals. MAY. 6336. Savoy Agy, 487 Oxford St, W1.

THE Job with Prospects for the ambitious girl from The Mayfair Staff Selection Bureau, 5A Princes St, Hanover Square, W1. (opp. Dickins & Jones). HYD. 6471.

SEC./Interviewer, perm. or part-time. Savoy Agency, MAY. 6336.

WANTED: Expd middle-aged gen. domestic. 47 Ossulton Way, N2. TUD. 1645.

APPOINTMENTS VACANT—continued

SECRETARY for West End editor. 20-30, good educ. & speeds. £11-£12. Portman Bureau, 78 George St, W1. HUN. 0676

HOUSEKEEPER for rather chaotic professional family of 3 children aged 8, 6, 4, all at day school. Mother wishing restart teaching. Live as family. Occasional help with children. Pref. Continental ckg. Daily domestic help. Refs to Box 4064.

APPOINTMENTS WANTED

MARRIED COUPLE (husband resident Australia 12 years) desire positions as Housefather and Housemother at Children's Home or similar establishment. Husband considerable experience school residential life, handicapped children, deaf children, & with much experience children's model and hobby workshops. Wife also conversant office procedure, typing etc. Excell. refs. Will reside anywh.; pref. country. Box 3785

GRADUATE Mod. History (m., 30), fluent French, German and Polish, travelled, good knowledge politics, current affairs, seeks interesting employment any capacity. Box 4155.

YOUNG man (24) seeks work until Sept. Fluent French, 'A' level German, Russian, History, English, knowl. typing (all rusty). Int.: Sociology; active. Box 4029.

JOURNALIST, American – English background; all interesting positions considered. Summer/perm. Travel, tutor music, Eng. Exp. adolescents. Box 3223.

ALERT capable girl 19, journalistic flair, sh./typing, exp. PR, mags. sks demanding job. Esp. furn., design. Box 4125.

YOUNG mother with 17 months son wants domestic post, London area. Box 3996.

HOLIDAY TRAVEL

HOUSE PARTY HOLIDAYS

The House Party idea appeals to professional people who expect more of a holiday than just creature comforts! On our House Parties they will meet others with similar interests; there will be companionship for all ages, social activities are arranged by our hosts, and there will be excellent opportunities for tennis, golf, bathing, boating and excursions.

Child supervision and Foreign Language practice are available.

Our House Parties are held in Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Sweden and in Britain (Sussex, Cornwall, Norfolk).

Costs from 9 gns. per week in Britain, from 27½ gns Abroad. Special 'Family Plan' reductions.

ERNA LOW, 47 (NS) Old Brompton Road, London, SW7. KEN. 8881-2.

BULGARIAN HOLIDAY

Cruise down the Danube from Vienna to the Black Sea – enjoy a week basking in the sun at Varna on the fabulous Black Sea Riviera – tour the lovely countryside and fascinating cities of Bulgaria. Never have so many attractive features been included in one 16-day holiday. Cost 95 gns. includes air to Vienna and back from Sofia. Send NOW for details of our Bulgarian holidays.

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25 Guineas – 15 days. Absolutely Inclusive. Amsterdam - The Hague - Rotterdam-Luxembourg - Trier - Brussels - Bruges. An exceptional cultural opportunity for young people, with comfort and fun. Denmark and The Rhine also available. Particulars Reed, 3 New Square, London, WC2.

A FEW Places Left! In amateur photographer party to Lake Geneva 1 to 12 Aug. (a few earlier dates still available). Luxury hotel. 12 days London back to London £29 19s. 6d. inclusive. (beginners welcome) Please write to Miss Liebermann, 79 Gresham Street, EC2. MET 8677.

LONDON-Moscow retn £32 by Dormobile. Depart 11 June retn 1 July. W. de Wend-Fenton, Ebberston Hall, Scarborough.

PROTRAVEL have something for everyone. Write now for your copy of our 1960 booklet 'Better Holidays'. Protravel (NS), 12 Gt Castle St, Oxford Circus, W1 (behind Peter Robinson). LAN. 3101.

TEACHER leads party, Tyrol 13-27 Aug. Expert guidance, no shepherding. Lonely people spec. welc. £28 10s. Peters, 64 Sherwood Av., St Albans. Tel. 52807.

NORFOLK Broads Motor Cruisers, Yachts, House-boats, Bungalows, Caravans by River & Coast. Please send 1s. for detailed catalogue. Broads Holidays, 4 Hamilton Road, Gt Yarmouth.

HOLIDAY TRAVEL—continued

INDIA, Ceylon, Malaya, Australia. Passage av. to Bombay £53 10s., Colombo £56 10s., Singapore £81 10s., Sydney, via Panama, £150. Indian Natl Travels Ltd, 25 Bloomsbury Way, WC1. HOL. 1193.

SUMMIT Paris, seats vacant dep. London 13 May. Week £10. PRI. 4068/18 Manor Mansions, NW3.

PS. Harold Ingham has still a few places vacant in party to travel to the Vienna Festival and then on to Salzburg, leaving London on 19 June. Tickets provided for 'Carmen', 'Prince Igor' and 'Orpheus and Eurydice'. 14 days, 39 gns. Programme includes also, parties to Festivals in Salzburg, Aix-en-Provence, Munich, Lucerne, etc. Harold Ingham, Ltd, 15 St John's Rd, Harrow. HAR. 1040.

LECTURE CRSES etc.—contd from p.652

UNIVERSITY of London: A course of three lectures entitled 'Some Reflections on Praxiology: The Effectiveness of Human Actions'; (i) 'The tasks of praxiology or the science dealing with effectiveness of actions'; (ii) 'Postulates for economical ways of acting'; (iii) 'Postulates for effective planning of actions' will be delivered by Professor T. Kotarbiński (Warsaw) at 5.30 p.m. on 9, 11 and 13 May at University College (Gustave Tuck Lecture Theatre), Gower Street, WC1. Admission free, without ticket. James Henderson, Academic Registrar.

UNIVERSITY of London: A course of two lectures entitled 'Canada since 1867'; (i) 'The Growth of Nationality'; (ii) 'The Experience in Federalism' will be delivered by Professor A. Brady (Toronto) at 5.30 p.m. on 9 and 10 May at the University of London, Senate House, WC1. Admission free, without ticket. James Henderson, Academic Registrar.

UNIVERSITY of London: A course of two lectures entitled 'Partisan Warfare; Yugoslavia and the Balkans, 1941-45. Some historical reflections' will be delivered by Colonel F. W. D. Deakin (Oxford) at 5.30 p.m. on 10 and 12 May at King's College, Strand, WC2. Admn free, without ticket. James Henderson, Academic Registrar.

DARTINGTON Music School, Director of Music, Richard Hall, provides a full-time general musical education for performers & teachers with individual tuition in voice & instruments. In being residential the School offers exceptional facilities for chamber music, ensemble playing & choral singing. Scholarships are awarded. Prospectus from the Secretary, The Arts Centre, Dartington Hall, Totnes, S Devon

WEEK and Week-end Residential Courses in Acting, Exploring Somerset, Painting, Poetry. Details from the Bursar, Dillington House College for Adult Education, Ilminster, Somerset.

DANCE – Drama. Tuition children, adults. Recreat. Movement. Classes at L. Harmel-Studio. Phone: HAM. 0213.

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GCE Courses in English Literature, Languages, Economics, etc. Also English for Foreigners. Part- or full-time. Day/Evg. Reduced fees for long crses. St Giles' School, 63 Oxford St, W1. GER. 1460.

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GERMAN, French, English, sh.-typing. Translations: English-German, Ger.-Engl. Ley, 54 Manchester St. WEL. 1739.

FOR Yoga classes and correspondence course, please write to the Yoga Centre, 13 Hampstead Hill Gardens, NW3.

SECRETARIAL Training, especially for university graduates, and older students, six-month and intensive 14-week courses. Write Organising Secy, Davies's, 158 Holland Park Ave, W11. PARk 4654.

GREGG and Pitman intensive Secretarial Courses. Day and Evening Classes. Frances King Secretarial School, 1a Harrington Road, SW7.

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SUMMER SCHOOLS

SUMMER SCHOOL
EDUCATION FOR FAMILY LIFE

William Temple College, Rugby
16-26 August 1960

Applications are invited from teachers, youth leaders and other educationists. Bursaries available. Descriptive brochure and enrolment form from Education Secretary, National Marriage Guidance Council, 78 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, London, W1.

COLEG HARLECH

Summer Schools 1960
23 – 30 July
'The English Novel since the War'.
30 July – 6 August
'Nuclear Power and Society'
6 – 13 August — Welsh Week
(Conducted in Welsh language)
Prospectus from Secretary, Coleg Harlech, Harlech, Merioneth.

NEWLYN Holiday Sketching Group, 9 May to 16 Sept., 1960. Daily expeditions with tuition. Large studio. Beginners welcomed. Book for week, fortnight or longer. Prospectus from Director, Gernick Field Studio, Newlyn, Penzance, Cornwall.

WHITSUN Music School for strings and wind instrumentalists 3-8 June. Inclusive charge £7 7s. Apply to The Warden, Urchfont Manor, nr Devizes, Wilts.

STUDENTSHIPS & FELLOWSHIPS

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
METCALFE
STUDENTSHIP FOR WOMEN

Applications are invited for the METCALFE STUDENTSHIP FOR WOMEN, which is of the value of not less than £120 in the case of a full-time student and not less than £60 in the case of a part-time student, tenable for one year in the first instance. Candidates must be graduates of a University of the United Kingdom and must be prepared to undertake research at the London School of Economics on some social, economic or industrial problem to be approved by the University. Applicants who do not know the result of their Degree Examinations may make provisional application. Applications, on a prescribed form, must reach the Secretary to the Scholarships Committee, University of London, Senate House, London, WC1, (from whom further particulars may be obtained) not later than 24 May 1960.

THE University of Sheffield. Applications are invited from graduates of any University for two Douglas Knoop Research Fellowships tenable from 1 October 1960. One Fellow will be required to undertake research in Economics, and the other in Economic History, in the University of Sheffield. The value of the Fellowships will be £675 a year and they will normally be tenable for three years. Applicants should be available for interview in Great Britain. Applicants who expect to graduate in 1960 will be considered. Applications (4 copies) indicating the line of research proposed and including the names and addresses of three referees should reach the Registrar (from whom further particulars may be obtained) by 16 May 1960.

ACCOMMODATION VACANT

BOARDING accommodation with social amenities for ladies & gentlemen under 35 from 52s. 6d. to 90s., partial board. Applic. forms & information: Belsize Residential Clubs, 13 Belsize Ave, NW3.

MODERN flat St John's Wood, 4 rms, kit./b'rm, contemp. furn., available 23 July-4 Sept. 10 gns wkly. Box 4039.

PLEASANT furnished room available op. Baker St Station for respectable professional gentleman. All facilities. Refs essential. Box 4040.

S/C. furn. flat overlkg Queenswood, suit 2-3 persons. 8 gns. TUDor 0516.

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LARGE tastefully furnished room, plenty of drawer & cupboard room, comfortable bed, constant hot water in bathroom, meals by arrangement. 3 gns. GLA. 0823.

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OWN room, not much furniture, low rent, high gas bill, in shared flat, NW3, for solvent man, twenties. PRI. 3494.

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CHELSEA bed-sit. Large, light. Share mod. cons. 3 congenial others. £4; dble £5. FLA. 9381. Box 4113.

LARGE sunny bed-sit.-rm, £3 10s. incl. breakfast. Meals if reqd. SPE. 8032.

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GIRL moved Little Venice leaves vacy sharing lge flat nr Baker St. AMB. 3980.

WANTED to share Highgate flat, young lady 25/35 fr. 23.4.60. £13 p.m. Phone MOU. 3531 after 7 p.m.

FURNISHED flat offered responsible couple; reduced rent return certain services. ARN. 7104 evenings.

CRICKLEWOOD: large rm, comfortable bed, substantial breakfast, friendly atmosphere. 4 gns. GLA. 0823.

PROF. woman offers woman comf. b/s., use k., tel. W9. 47s. Box 4070.

LARGE room, use bath, kit. For lady. Tel. 6 p.m. or Sat. PRI. 1595.

COMFORTABLE large single divan-room, cooking facs, h. & c. Suit business lady or gentleman. Nr Brent Stn. HEN. 6375.

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UNIVERSITY Professor on fellowship needs furnished accommodation for family, four bedrooms, kitchen etc, for nine months from 1 July. Box 4112.

UNIVERSITY Lecturer, wife and two children (aged 1 and 2) want furnished flat or house, London district, for two-four weeks from 7 July. Please send details airmail to Dr Kinnear, University College, Ibadan, Nigeria.

PRINCETON Professor, wife, child require flat/house SW London or Surrey suburbs June-September. Write H. Eckstein, 102 Woodrow Wilson Hall, Princeton, NJ.

BUS. woman, flat furn. or sparse, W1 to NW3. Would baby-sit. Box 3998.

TWO West Indian officials of standing seek bed-sits, London area, 11 May for indefinite period. 1 man, 1 woman. Not necessarily in same house. Reply to Miss S. M. Bate, 147 King Henry's Rd, NW3.

LARGE rm unf./part furn., share kit./bath. Earls Court, Kens., etc. Box 3898.

AUTHOR requires accom. however plain or remote; approx. £1. PAD. 5062.

EDINBURGH. Bus. woman (30's) reqs accom., bed-sitter or p.g. Box 4072.

SCHOOLS

BURGESS Hill School at High Canons, Well End, Barnet. Freedom and self-government. Boarders and day children. Boys & girls 7-18 years. ELStree 5560.

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MERLAND House Preparatory School, 130 Dorset Rd, Bexhill-on-Sea. 5-14 yrs.

NEW Sherwood School, Epsom, parent-owned, progressive and co-educational, encourages children to explore their world and master its skills with friendly co-operation rather than authoritarian pressure from staff and parents. We welcome inquiries from parents of genuinely progressive outlook who wish to take an active interest in the development of their children.

RUDOLF Steiner Schools Fellowship Education for children from the Nursery to University Entrance. Information regarding the educational work of Rudolf Steiner Schools, reference books, availability of Lecturers, etc., obtainable from Sec., Wynstones School, Waddon, Glos.

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2 & 5 May at 6.0	The Trojans
4 May at 7.30	La Traviata

THE ROYAL BALLET

3 May at 7.30	La Valse, La Fille Mal Gardée.
6 May at 7.30	Petrushka, Les Rendezvous, Antigone.
7 May at 2.15	Petrushka, Les Rendezvous, Le Baiser de la Fée.
7 May at 7.30	Les Sylphides, La Baiser de la Fée, The Firebird.

SADLER'S WELLS THEATRE
TERminus 1672
SADLER'S WELLS OPERETTA
17 May for 4 weeks
ORPHEUS IN THE UNDERWORLD
New English version by Geoffrey Dunn
Offenbach
Evgs 7.30. Mats Sats 2.30
Box Office open 10 a.m.-6 p.m.

THEATRES

ARTS. TEM. 3334. 8. Th. & Sat. 5 & 8. The Caretaker by Harold Pinter. Mems.

IN-STAGE: London premiere of 'The Man Who Had All the Luck' by Arthur Miller. Produced by Charles Marowitz. Last 2 perfs, 29 & 30 April. Tower Theatre, Canonbury Place, N1. CAN. 5111.

IRVING, Leicester Sq. WHI. 8657. Glamour and Girls. 4th yr Cont. Revue. From 2.30, Sun. 4. 2nd week 14th Ed. Mems

ROYAL Court. SLO. 1745. 7.30. Th. 2.30. S. 5. 8.15. Laurence Olivier in Ionesco's 'Rhinoceros' prod. by Orson Welles.

UNITY. EUS. 5391. Marghanita Laski's 'The Off-Shore Island' – 10 Nuclear years hence? Fri., Sat., Sun. 7.45. Mems.

CONCERTS

JOHN Ireland Society Inaugural concert. Royal Festival Hall Recital Room, 4 May at 8.15. 2s. 6d. to 10s. (WAT. 3191).

GUITAR Society Recital, Caxton Hall, Victoria St, SW1. Mon. 2 May at 8 p.m. Admission 3s. 6d.

ENTERTAINMENTS

ACADEMY Cinema (GER. 2981). Morning shows daily 11 a.m. (Ex. Suns) The Immortal Land (U) and Greek Sculpture (U)

EVERYMAN. HAM. 1525. Until 1 May: Bergman's 'The Face' (X). From 2 May: Eisenstein's 'Ivan the Terrible' (Pt 1) (A). Franju's 'La Première Nuit' (U).

ICA, 17 Dover St, W1. Dancing to Don Simmons' Group. Today Sat. 30 April, 8-11 p.m. Members 3s., their Guests 5s.

DANCE, International Friendship League, Sat. 30 April, Royal Hotel, Woburn Place, WC2. 7.30-11 p.m. Tickets 5s.

EXHIBITIONS

ICA, 17 Dover St, W1. Mattia Moreni: Paintings. Until 14 May. Daily 10-6, Sats 10-1. Admission 1s., members free.

AN EXHIBITION of Old Dutch Pastry Moulds at 149 Sloane Street, SW1. Primavera Exhibition open until Sat., 7 May. Daily 9.30-5.30. Sats 9.30-1 p.m.

HUNGARY in pictures, with examples of peasant folk art, pottery, book publications: at Collet's Foreign Bookshop, 45 Museum Street, WC1. 2-14 May.

HYDE Park Gallery, 30 Sussex Place, W2. Hans Schwarz – Paintings 3-21 May.

BERKELEY Galleries, 20 Davies St, W1. Saltglazed Stoneware by Denise K. Wren & Rosemary D. Wren. Daily 10-5.30. Sat. 10-1. Opening 3 May.

EXHIBITIONS—continued

CONTEMPORARY Art Society: 'The First Fifty Years'. A selection of works given to Public Galleries by the CAS 1910-1960. Tate Gallery to 8 May. Weekdays 10-6, Sundays 2-6. Admission 2s.

TOOTHS: Opening 3 May, 'Peintres D'Aujourd'hui'. Contemporary French Paintings including works by Buffet, Civet, Clave, Pignon, Venard. Daily 9.30-6. Sats 9.30-1. 31 Bruton Street, W1.

HANOVER Gallery, 32a St George Street, W1. Dubuffet – Paintings, Gouaches, Lithographs. Opening Tuesday 3 May. Until 3 June. Daily 10-5.30. Sats 10-1.

MARLBOROUGH, 17-18 Old Bond St, W1. James Ensor (1860-1949) Retrospective Centenary Exhibition – 28 April-28 May. 2s. 6d. Students 1s. in aid of World Refugee Year. Dly 10-5. Sats 10-12.

DRIAN Gallery, 7 Porchester Place, Marble Arch, W2. Falchi and Hodgkinson paintings, till 7 May, 10-6.

REDFERN Gallery, 20 Cork Street, W1. Recent Paintings by Michael Wishart; Louis James and Theyre Lee-Elliott. Hours 10-6. Sat. 10-1. Exhibition closes 25 May.

MATTHIESEN Gallery: Paintings and Drawings from Christ Church, Oxford, an Exhibition in aid of the Christ Church United Clubs, Kennington. Admission: 2s. 6d. Daily 10-5.30. Sats 10-1. Until 11 June. 142 New Bond Street, W1.

WHITECHAPEL Art Gallery: Ida Kar: Portraits of artists in England, France and Soviet Russia; and other photographs. Last three days. Today and tomorrow 11-6, Sunday 2-6. Admission free. Adjoins Aldgate East Station.

WOODSTOCK Gallery, 16 Woodstock St, W1. MAYfair 4419. Schmidt-Pauly, Maeve Gilmore, Robert Hill – Paintings. 2-21 May. Daily 10-6. Sats 10-1.

RAILLE Gallery, Islington Green, N1. 25 paintings by Ken Moore.

MOLTON Gallery. 'Emilio Pettoruti' Paintings 1914-1959. Until 21 May. 44 South Molton St, W1. Daily 10-6, Sats 10-1.

WADDINGTON Galleries, recent paintings Roger Hilton. Daily 10-6, Sats 10-1. 2 Cork St, W1.

ZWEMMER'S, 26 Litchfield St, WC2. New Paintgs John Bratby. Opens 4 May.

NUDES of Jean Straker – Photography. 12-9. 5s. Visual Arts, 12 Soho Sq, W1.

WELLCOME Historical Medical Museum, The Wellcome Building, Euston Road, NW1. The Microscope and Zoology in the Nineteenth Century. Electricity in the Service of Medicine and other exhibitions. Mon-Fri., 10-5. Free.

ROLAND, Browse & Delbanco, 19 Cork St, W1. Josef Herman: Small Paintings and Drawings (Wkdys 10-5.30, Sats 10-1).

QUEENSWOOD Gallery, 214 Archway Rd, N6. MOU 4917 Borchard, Brodzky, Clare, Feigl, Harris, Josephs, Kahn, Pereira, Sanders. Until 25 May. Dly incl. Sats 10-5.30, Thurs. 10-1.

KAPLAN Gallery · MacBryde · Paintings Colquhoun – Drawings – Until 7 May. 6 Duke Street, St James's, SW1.

THE Chinese Picture Room, 13 New Quebec St, W1. PAD. 4643 (behind Marble Arch Corner House). New and old paintings from China, reproductions, antique pottery, etc. 10-7, ex Thurs., Sun.

LECTURES AND MEETINGS

CHRISTIAN ACTION
Central Hall, Westminster
Wednesday 11 May, 7.30 p.m.
THE BISHOP OF JOHANNESBURG
First-hand report on
SOUTH AFRICA
Supported by OLIVER TAMBO
(Acting President African National Congress)
Chairman: LORD PAKENHAM

Tickets 2s. 6d. reserved, 1s. unreserved from Christian Action, 2 Amen Court, EC4 (City 3747) or Central Hall.

LECTURES AND MEETINGS—continued

NYASALAND & AFRICA'S FUTURE
A Public Meeting
DR HASTINGS K. BANDA
Mrs Barbara Castle, MP
Mr Chris Chataway, MP
Mr Jeremy Thorpe, MP
Chairman: Dr T. O. Elias

Appeal by: Mr James Cameron
MONDAY 2 MAY, 1960 at 7.0 p.m.
(Doors open 6.30)

CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, SW1.

Tickets 1s. at the door or 2s. 6d. (Res.) from Africa Bureau, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, SW1.

Meeting arranged by the Africa Bureau; Committee of African Organisations; Fabian Commonwealth Bureau; Movement for Colonial Freedom.

FOLLOW UP CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AT FOULNESS AWRE

Mon. 2 May. ASSEMBLE 6.30 a.m.

WD Road Block, Great Wakering Entrance to Foulness Island.

MEETING for Volunteers at Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, London, WC1,

Sat. 30 April, 7.30 p.m.

UNIVERSITY of London: A lecture entitled 'Interest and Investment' will be delivered by Professor E. Preiser (Munich) at 5 p.m. on 5 May at the London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton St, Aldwych, WC2. Admn free, without tkt. James Henderson, Academic Registrar.

UNIVERSITY of London: A Daniel Defoe Tercentenary Lecture will be delivered by Professor J. R. Sutherland at 5.30 p.m. on 5 May at the University of London, Senate House, WC1. Admission free, without ticket. James Henderson, Academic Registrar.

CENTRAL London Fabian Society. Jean Graham Hall on 'The Police and the Public', Wed. 4 May, 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1. Details of Society from Membership Secretary, 42a Westbere Road, NW2.

PANDIT Jawaharlal Nehru: Meeting of welcome, Central Hall, Westminster, Friday 6 May, 6.30 p.m. Admission by ticket price 2s. 6d., obtainable from The India League, 31A John Adam St, WC2.

FAKING Furniture: an illustrated talk by H. D. Molesworth. Finsbury Central Library, Skinner St, EC1 (nr Town Hall, Rosebery Ave.). Tues. 3 May, 8.30 (arr. Finsbury Art Group). Non-members 1s. 6d.

PUSHKIN Club, 24 Kensington Park Gardens, W11. PARk 7696. Fri. 29 April, 8 p.m. Turgenev Evening. Boris Ranevsky: 'Turgenev's Childhood'. Scenes acted by members (Russian). Fri. 6 May, 8 p.m. Lord David Cecil: Early Works of Lev Tolstoy.

ADLERIAN Society: A discussion on Marriage Problems. Guest speaker: Dr W. G. P. Kraemer. 3 May 7.30 p.m. punctually at Alliance Hall, Palmer Street, SW1. Non-members 2s. 6d. (Students 1s.).

'SOME Questions about the British Economy: A French View', by M. Edmond C. Malinvaud. Institut Français, Queensberry Pl., SW7. Wed. 4 May, 6.15. Admn free.

'CHINA'S Industrial Revolution.' Solomon Adler, author of 'The Chinese Economy', Cambridge. Has made regular visits to China last few years. Monday, 2 May. Friends House, Euston Rd, 7.30 p.m. Britain-China Friendship Association.

THE West London Ethical Society, 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, Kensington High St, W8. Sun. 1 May, 6.30 Music & Readings, 7 p.m. 'Gilbert Murray: an appreciation'. H. J. Blackham.

SUN. 1 May, Friends House, Euston Rd, NW1. 6.30 p.m.: 'Stone Walls do not a Prison make'. Spkr: Phyllis Taunton Wood.

MAY Day March: St Pancras Labour Parties will march from St Pancras Arches (Pancras Road) at 12.45, 1 May. Two jazz bands too.

LECTURES AND MEETINGS—continued

'THE New Jewish Society invites the Maimonides Society to join them in Debating the motion 'That this House would rather be an Englishman in Paris than a Frenchman in London'. New Jewish Society, Wed. 4 May, at 8 p.m., 83 Chiltern St, W1.

BUDDHIST Society, 58 Eccleston Sq., SW1. Public lecture Wed. 4 May, 6.30: 'Buddhist Meditation', Mrs M. H. Robins. Send 3s. for 'The Middle Way'. Information: TAT. 1313.

SHAW Soc. welcoming Colin Wilson again at National Book League, 7 Albemarle St, W1, 29 Apr., 7 p.m. Non-mems 2s. 6d.

TAGORE Anniversary Readings: Sybil Thorndyke; colourful dance-drama 'Tasher Desh' (Kingdom of Cards) English commentary. St Pancras Town Hall, Wed. 4 May, 7.20 p.m. Tickets 3s., 5s. 31a John Adam Street, WC2, or gate.

MAY Day Meeting, 'Workers of the World Unite!' Sun. 1 May, 7 p.m. Denison Hse, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Rd, (Nr Victoria). Speakers: J. D'Arcy & C. Wilson. Socialist Party of Great Britain.

S. PLACE Ethical Soc. Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., WC1. Sun. 11 a.m. 1 May. F. H. A. Micklewright, MA, 'Ethics of Urban Development'. Write free 'Monthly Record'

'BUDDHA'S Teaching'. Public lecture, 1 May, 8 p.m. Free lit. S.a.e. ULT, 62 Queen's Gardens, W2. PAD. 0688.

SPIRITUALISM proves survival. Lectures and demonstrations daily, London H.Q., 33 Belgrave Square, SW1. BEL. 3351.

LECTURE COURSES AND SPECIALISED TRAINING

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DIPLOMA IN THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF EDUCATION

This one-year full-time course provides for the study of the applications of social psychology and sociology in the field of education and is intended for teachers with not less than five years' experience.

Application for admission in September 1960 should be made as soon as possible to: the Deputy Director, Institute of Education, 328 London Road, Leicester, from whom further particulars and application forms may be obtained.

CITY OF PORTSMOUTH
COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY

Applications are invited for additional full-time places, available September 1960 in the following courses:

B.SC. (ECON.) LOND. – Three year course for students wishing to offer Government or Industry and Trade or Accountancy or International Economics, as special subject.

B.A. (GENERAL) LOND. – Three year course. (Economics, Law, History). Students must have satisfied Faculty of Arts requirements.

Prospectus and forms of application from The Registrar, College of Technology, Portsmouth.

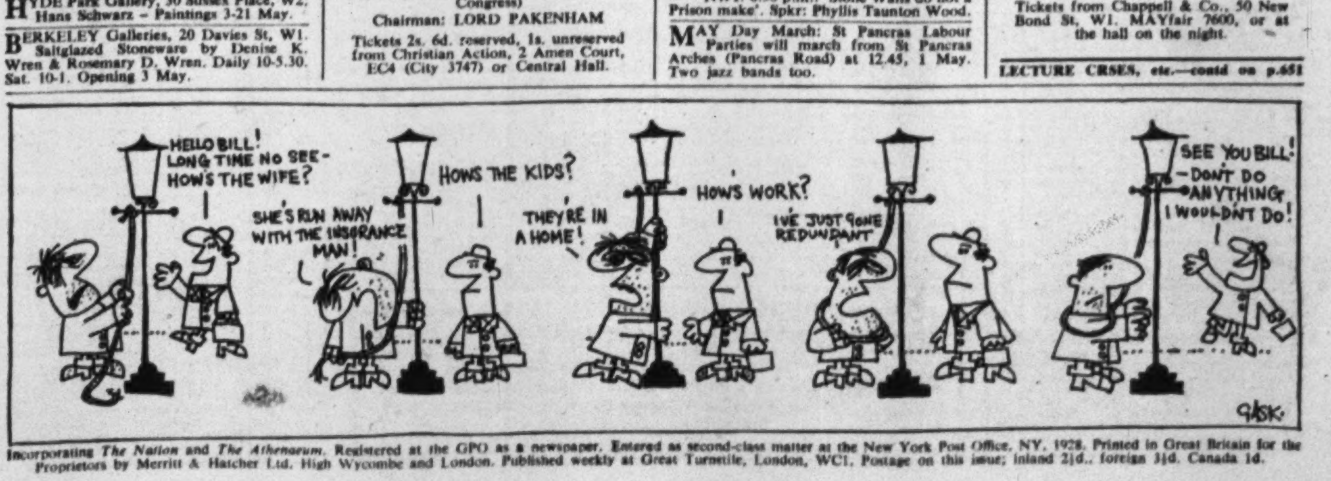
Please quote NS.

LECTURE ON PAINTING IN OILS
3 MAY

John Wynne-Morgan will give a course of lectures on Landscape (3 May) – Painting from Life (16 May) – Portraiture (13 June) and will paint a landscape in front of his audience at Rudolf Steiner Hall, 33 Park Road, NW1. 7.30 to 10 p.m. – 10s. 6d. per lecture or 27s. 6d. for course of three.

Tickets from Chappell & Co., 50 New Bond St, W1. MAYfair 7600, or at the hall on the night.

LECTURE CRSES, etc.—contd on p.651


HELLO BILL! LONG TIME NO SEE - HOW'S THE WIFE?
SHE'S RUN AWAY WITH THE INSURANCE MAN!
HOWS THE KIDS?
THEY'RE IN A HOME!
HOW'S WORK?
I'VE JUST GONE REDUNDANT
SEE YOU BILL! - DON'T DO ANYTHING I WOULDN'T DO!
GASK

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